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THE MOSLEM WORLD

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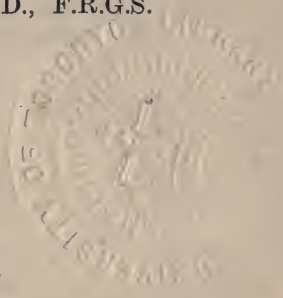
A QUARTERLY REVIEW

OF CURRENT EVENTS, LITERATURE, AND THOUGHT AMONG MOHAMMEDANS AND THE PROGRESS OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN MOSLEM LANDS.

EDITOR:

REV. S. M. ZWEMER, D.D., F.R.G.S.



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The Moslem World

VOL. V JANUARY, 1915 No. 1

EDITORIAL

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As this number of our quarterly goes to press, all Europe is still under the horror of the great war which has carried its disastrous consequences into every part of the world. We write *Anno Domini* 1915, but we seem to live in a mediaevalism of international hatred and of bloodshed on the battle field without a parallel in the long history of the sinful world. Has the shadow on the dial moved backward? All the earth seems to prepare for war, to awake up its mighty men and to proclaim, "Beat your plowshares into swords and your pruning hooks into spears; let the weak say, I am strong." Yet as in the days of Joel, the Lord is the Hope of His people and the Strength of His church. The only apostle of peace in time of war is the apostle of Jesus Christ.

Just as the Crusades were coming to a disastrous close, there was born on the island of Majorca, in 1236, the man who proclaimed the true method of warring the Lord's war, and through it became the first and greatest missionary to the Mohammedans. On June 30th, 1315, he was stoned to death at Bugia, North Africa. In June next will occur the six hundredth anniversary of his martyrdom for the Truth. When we consider how the European war has involved also the Moslem world, and has compelled Moslems everywhere, often unwillingly, to choose sides in this great conflict by showing their distrust and suspicion or by declaring their wholehearted loyalty to colonial governments, it is good to emphasise once more the message of this

life. Raymund Lull was profoundly convinced that the only weapon which Christians can rightly wield is prayer and love. He wrote in his "Contemplation of God":—

"It is my belief, O Christ, that the conquest of the Holy Land should be attempted in no other way than as Thou and Thy apostles undertook to accomplish it—by love, by prayer, by tears and the offering up of our own lives. As it seems that the possession of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Holy Land can be better secured by the force of arms, therefore let the monks march forth as holy knights, glittering with the sign of the Cross, replenished with the grace of the Holy Spirit, and proclaim to the unbelievers the truth of Thy passion. Let them, from love to Thee, exhaust the whole fountain of their eyes, and pour out all the blood of their bodies, as Thou hast done from love to them.

"Lord of heaven, Father of all times, when Thou didst send Thy Son to take upon Him human nature, He and His apostles lived in outward peace with Jews, Pharisees, and other men; never by outward violence did they capture or slay any of the unbelievers, or those who persecuted them. This outward peace they used to bring the erring to the knowledge of the truth. So, after Thy example, should Christians conduct themselves towards the Saracens."

Lull saw the futility of authority in matters of religion at a time when other men were busy, as Robert Speer says, "with the most devilish expression of belief in authority ever conceived—the Inquisition." He was the greatest missionary to the Moslem world because of his catholicity, a lover of men everywhere and of the Christ. "The image of the crucified Christ," said he, "is found much rather in men who imitate Him in their daily walk than in the crucifix made of wood." "Better is a life spent in instructing others than one spent in fasting."

Raymund Lull not only loved Moslems and preached to them the love of Christ, but He was willing to lay down his life for their sake. If, after this war, there is to be a new day of liberty in Turkey and the Near East, that liberty will also be a call to the deepest self-sacrifice. We have complained that the harvest in Moslem lands is delayed. Have we forgotten the words of Sabatier, "That the furrow be fecund, it must have blood and tears such as Augustine called the blood of the soul"?

The present situation in the Moslem world is a call to new heroism, a heroism such as we have seen exemplified on the battle field, but for a higher cause and in a holier service. A few months ago a missionary wrote

to me, "If a Moslem Turk were to come to you and say that he wanted to confess Christ openly, what would you say to him? Is it your purpose definitely to lead your Moslem students to an open confession of Christ, or is it your purpose merely to instil Christian ideas into their lives? Will the Cross ever become a real or vital influence in Turkey before our missionaries are willing to face the fact that if Moslems openly confess Christ, it may mean the closing of our schools and bitter persecution; and that the history of Christianity is the record of conquests made because men dared face these issues?" Raymund Lull dared to face them at Rome, at Montpelier, in North Africa, and also, first and most of all, when he made his great decision at Palma. "To Thee, Lord God, do I now offer myself and my wife and my children and all that I possess." In his own words, he "hurried day and night to complete his work, in order to give up his blood and tears to be shed for Christ." Who follows in his train?

We may rightly object to the use of a military vocabulary in our work for Moslems, but let us never eliminate the spirit of unselfish heroism, of a dauntless faith, and such conviction of the Truth as calls for unconditional surrender to Jesus Christ our Lord. This is the message of the life of Lull after six centuries, and his message is never so appropriate—the message of an apostle of peace—as in these days of war. Raymund Lull, too, was a Crusader, but not with carnal weapons. He fought the good fight and kept the faith against fearful odds. Shall we do so to-day?

"Give me no pity, nor spare me;
Calm not the wrath of my Foe.
See where he beckons to dare me!
Bleeding, half beaten—I go.
Not for the glory of winning,
Not for the fear of the night;
Shunning the battle is sinning,
Oh! spare me the heart to fight."—

S. M. Zwemer.

THE WAR AND ISLAM

——:o:——

I. SOUTH ARABIA

——:o:——

When one goes among the mixed Moslem people of Aden and its hinterland, it is not very long before one discovers that there are at least four different classes in the community, and that these different classes view the struggle from their own standpoint, each one discovering in the strife just what he brings eyes to see.

One class declares that if ever a war was justified or justifiable this is the one. A second class criticises the homicidal mania which seems to have taken possession of the nations that are engaged, and sneers at the very thought of those responsible for the war being followers of Him who came to bring peace and goodwill to the children of men.

A third seems to have no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that the present war is God's way of taking vengeance on those nations that stood aside and saw the Islamic power in Europe humbled to the dust; while a fourth thanks God for the turmoil and strife as they will pave the way for the spread of Islam.

1. The first class consists of those who have mixed much with Europeans, and have endeavoured to keep abreast of the times by reading English and Egyptian newspapers. Naturally, their thoughts are coloured by the pictures those papers present, and so they trace the war to the pan-German militarism and despotism so eagerly fostered by the Kaiser and those of his followers who look upon him as Heaven's vicegerent. They say that for many years the youth of Germany has been taught to believe that their nation has been chosen of God to lead the van of civilisation, and therefore it has been forced to perfect its army and strengthen its navy, to

lengthen its cords and strengthen its stakes. All the time, however, they have been unaware that their training has made them assume a bellicose attitude and nurtured within them a belligerent spirit which other nations found hard to bear.

Moslems of this class are, however, aware that the proximate cause of the war was a religious one, which roused the peoples' worst passions and caused fanaticism to run through their minds like fire through a prairie.

The Grand Duke Franz Ferdinand never made any secret of his intention to conquer the Balkan states, and make their church subservient to Rome as soon as he gained imperial power. Consequently a band of those who loved religious freedom swore to have his life, and a frenzied youth put him to death.

Upon this the German Court, which has always laid great stress upon the Divine right of kings, urged Austria to seek revenge, and promised help should such be required. Thus war was declared against Servia, and Russia intervened to help her protégé. Upon this Germany declared war upon Russia and against France, invading Luxemburg and Belgium, whereupon Britain, which had sworn to see Belgium's neutrality respected, declared war against the Teutonic alliance, thus turning Europe into a veritable Armageddon.

Now most of the educated Moslems of Aden and the hinterland believe that the exciting cause of Britain's war was the German invasion of Belgium, and they seem to agree in thinking that there was no other course open to it, as an honourable nation and self-respecting people. As one Arab said to me, the war was undertaken to defend the weak and to curb that militant spirit which would have enslaved the world, therefore we teach our children to sing, "Ya kawee, Ya Azeez Ahlik el—German wa ansur El Angleez." "O strong, O mighty one, break the German power, and give victory to the English."

2. A second class, however, and I am bound to admit a fairly numerous one, uses this war as a handy weapon wherewith to belabour Christian missionaries. "You missionaries are always telling us that Christ was the first great teacher to put human life upon a high standard

and teach the value thereof. You say that He was the only great teacher who never used force to propagate His beliefs. You say that even when the devil offered Him all the kingdoms of the world, if only He would use force, He refused to do so. You say that He came to bring peace and goodwill and declare that outside the sphere of Christendom neither human life nor human property is ever safe. For years you have been telling us to love our enemies and to do good to them that hate us, and you have wearied us with your talk against blood feuds and the barbarity, as you call it, of requiring an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. Why do you not practise what you preach? Why do you not go and speak thus to your fellow countrymen?

"Like the Jews, whom our holy prophet reproved, you made a covenant that you would not shed your brother's blood nor dispossess one another of your habitations; but no sooner did one nation kick over the traces than all the others rushed to the scene and engaged in the throes of deadly strife. How, then, can you have the face to remain here and talk to us about peace and goodwill when none of you really believe the tenets of your own faith?

"Islam puts all on the same level and removes those barriers of social distinction which Christianity raises; therefore, if you were true believers your quarrel would be speedily composed, but just because you do not know the merciful one, because you are absolutely without compassion, you say that this must be a fight to the finish and make fresh treaties to that effect."

3. A third class, largely composed of Indians and of those influenced by Indian thought, always harks back to the invasion of Tripoli and the Balkan conflict, and seems to believe that the present melée is the outcome of Britain's refusal to help Turkey when Italy, with its strong fleet, stole Tripoli, and also when the Balkan States threw off the Turkish yoke.

Both Germany and Britain, they say, long professed friendship for the Ottoman Porte, but no sooner did they find Turkey engaged in a life and death struggle than they left her like a knotless thread, and never uttered

a single word of protest when she lost her possessions one by one; while, worst of all, with unmoved faces, they saw her maids ravished and her women raped as well as her children slain because they worshipped Allah, and would not bow to either crucifix or eikon.

God, however, is the All-seeing One, and, therefore, though respite be granted for a time, He never fails to exact justice. Those nations that have been Turkey's chief oppressors are now receiving the reward of their transgressions from Him, with whom one day is as a thousand years as ye compute (Sura xxii.). You have declared that ye are children of the beloved; why, then, doth He punish you for your sins? (Sura v.)

A fourth class holds that the war has, in the providence of God, been brought about in order to pave the way for the spread of Islam. The nations engaged said: We are Christians, we have received the covenant, but as the Lord said, "Because they have forgotten part of what they were admonished, we have raised up enmity and hatred among them till the day of resurrection." (Sura v.) But God is the Merciful, the Compassionate One, consequently He is sending his messengers from Africa and India to teach these nations the way of truth. By means of the Faithful who have gone into Europe, He shall lead the Christians out of darkness into light, and shall "direct them in the right way, in the way of those to whom He has been gracious; not in the way of those against whom He is incensed nor in the way of those who go astray" (Sura i.).

The above seems to be the common way of looking at the question by Mohammedan propagandists, but a different aspect was given to the view this morning by an Emir, with whom I was driving from a neighbouring village. He said this war would increase Britain's possessions in Africa, and allow for the peaceful propagation of Islam. In German territory, where every one had to stand up and salute even the meanest soldier, people were afraid to promulgate the tenets of their belief, but in British territory all were free and their faith made progress.

Aden J. C. Young.

II. TURKEY

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"ALL these years your Christian nations have been calling us barbarians and cruel; but wherein does Christianity show itself to be less savage and more peace loving at heart than we, when you go against each other with such terrible and bitter slaughter one of the other?"

The questioner is a Moslem girl, a recent student in one of our American schools, where she had listened to the teachings of the Prince of Peace, and where she had been told of His mighty influence upon the lives of men and nations.

And this afternoon over the tea-cups on our veranda she is putting with searching eyes this question, to us who stand for His Faith, and in her voice there is the note of scorn and incredulity, contempt for Christianity's charity, incredulity of Christianity's sincerity, for through her eyes and through her lips Islam is speaking, the Moslems of Turkey are questioning.

The seeds of this sympathy with Germany were sown far back in the days of Abdul Hamid and during the period of the most terrible of the Armenian massacres. The world will not soon forget William the Second's visit to Constantinople in 1908 and his announcement that the Sultan was "merely pacifying his rebellious subjects." Nor has Turkey forgotten the Kaiser's friendship at that time, extended as it was in the face of protests and horror from the rest of civilisation, protests not sincere enough to put anything valuable at stake, horror not virtuous enough to make any sacrifice to stem the tide of slaughter.

It is reported to-day that in many mosques the mollahs pray for "Hadji Mohammed Guilliam" and the success of his arms. One wonders if his own claim as "Defender of the Faith" are included in those prayers of the imams.

The interests of German commerce, and especially the Bagdad Railway, are underneath all this outward show,

and have led the German Emperor into many other little courtesies towards his Ottoman friends which are now bearing fruit.

Add to this Turkey's long unsettled account with Russia, and the fact that England has made no special moves of late to win prestige at the Sublime Porte, at least since the affair at Crete, while the appearance of the French fleet at Mitylene in 1901 is not forgotten, and you have a combination of reasons for placing Turkey on the side of Germany in so far as her political sympathies are concerned.

But Turkey's sympathy is more a protective measure than an ardent inborn national sentiment. She feels that she has less to fear from Germany than from any of the others. Germany's ambitions southward through the Balkans do not cause as much apprehension at Constantinople as Russia's, while England's policy in Egypt and the nursing of French influence in Syria are known to all the world. Nor does Italy's sympathy with the Allies help their cause in Turkish circles.

Cold disdain is the general feeling towards Europe. At these so-called Christian nations, which for so long a time have held Turkey in contempt as semi-barbarous, Turkey now points the finger of scorn and says, " wherein do you so far surpass us in civilisation, in boasted humanitarianism, in progress towards peace and concord ? " As a leading Turkish daily stated editorially :—

" They would not look at the evils in their own countries, or elsewhere, but interfered at the slightest incident in our borders ; every day they would perform vivisection on our quivering flesh and cut off great pieces of it. And we, with a forcibly controlled spirit of rebellion in our hearts and with clenched but powerless fists, silent and depressed, would murmur as the fire burned within : Oh that they might fall out with one another ! Oh that they would eat each other up ! "

And out of this paralysis of concord among the nations, Turkey saw her chance and threw off the hated capitulations as a bondage too long endured by her national honour.

These unsettled conditions on the continent have also given rise to a strong War Party under the leadership of the Minister of War. In bitter opposition to this party is a Peace Party under the leading of the Crown Prince,

who sees in war the utter ruin of the nation's future and in peace the only hope of continued existence. The dreams of the War Party take in the Islands, Salonica, Macedonia, Albania, and possibly Bosnia, as parts of the Empire once more.

But the War Party has founded its air castles on false hopes. Supreme among these sand foundations was the expectation of Germany's sudden and overwhelming success. For weeks the Turkish press could see nothing else; this success was to be dazzling in its splendour. The Allies crushed, Germany supreme, Turkey Germany's ally.

One important element in this grand scheme was a belief, expressed boldly and repeatedly in the Moslem press, which took its cue from the prejudiced prophets of Berlin, that should the land of the Caliphate join forces against the Allies, Egypt would at once be in revolt and England's empire in India aflame with a Moslem uprising. The seizure of the battleships by Britain was used to the fullest to draw in Islamic sympathy. One of the deputies writing in the *Tasfiri Efkiar*, said :—

"The blow which England is striking at the Ottoman world, and also at the world of Islam, will raise great currents like the currents of the oceans. No Englishman should doubt but that these currents will one day result in drowning the Englishmen on their island. All the Moslem world greets the news of England's act with emotion and sadness. Eternally, Turkey and Islam will execrate this act. This ship was attached to the heart of the whole Islamic world, and we are powerless to express the anger and indignation aroused by this act, and this wrath will never cease."

Another daily wrote editorially, "The seizure of the dreadnought will certainly produce a very painful impression not alone in Ottoman circles but in the whole Moslem world."

The following official statement from the British embassy in Constantinople reveals the nature of the articles circulating freely in the Moslem press as to the condition in Egypt, while an even stronger statement was posted as to the lies which were being credited here as regards the condition in India :—

"The news given in the local press, according to which Egyptian troops had been disarmed and Egyptian officers placed under sur-

veillance, is in every particular contrary to the truth. Nothing has occurred that would give the slightest ground for such a rumour. The fact that several Egyptian officers have requested authorisation to join the British troops now fighting in France, and that an influential committee of officers is proceeding spontaneously to collect subscriptions to provide for the expenses of treatment of wounded British soldiers, shows the loyal feelings of these officers. All reports of the outbreak of discontent or disturbance in Egypt are inspired from a German source, and are by that very fact misleading."

A reply to this statement which came out in a Moslem paper is of interest. This reply includes a denial of other statements from British sources :—

"The English, to prove that the Egyptians are their faithful subjects, send by means of the cables, which are controlled by them, a communication saying that the Egyptians have subscribed £3,000 for the families of the soldiers of their oppressors, and that besides the Egyptian Prince Mehmed Ali Pasha, President of the Red Crescent, has sent a sum of a thousand pounds for the benefit of the Red Cross. The latter fact is very possible, for the Moslems are humane people, and give on every occasion without considering the question of nationality. But as far as concerns the sending of money by Egyptians for the English army, there must be a little omission that would explain that from the salaries of the Egyptian employés of English societies and governmental offices, a sum has been held back to be applied to this purpose."

It might be added that this was the method widely used at Constantinople and throughout the Empire in raising the money for the Turkish ships which England took over.

These earlier accounts of "up-risings" have subsided to "unrest," and now there is a slowly dawning consciousness that Islam is no longer one. Those who are wise are gaining the conviction that should the Caliphate itself proclaim a "holy war" against the Allies on the side of Germany, not one company of Moslem soldiers from India would desert the flag of the Empire of Britain to join hands with Turkey against their King and Emperor.

But this idea of the oneness of Islam will die hard. Only last week a Constantinople tri-weekly came out with a long article, from which I cull the following :—

"What Servia has been doing in Bosnia, Russia and England have done in India, Persia, the Caucasus, and Egypt. Is it right for us to sit by any longer with folded arms and see our brothers massacred ? We think not. Nay, not only must we not permit this but we are persuaded that the hour has at last struck when Islam must regain its rights and return to its former splendour.

"As for England, she has proudly claimed the title of mistress

of the sea ; she is about to lose this title, which she won mainly by diplomatic success. Thanks to the tireless energy of their excellencies Enver Pasha and Djemal Pasha, our army and navy will know their duty, and will in case of need enforce our legitimate demands. We do not forget that our minister of war has told us that we have a stain to wash out. We are to-day in a position to do so."

We talk of "the gallant assault of the Coldstream Guards," of the heroic stand of the "Kaiser's Own," of the nation's "honour" or "Germany's fight for self-preservation." Kings and Kaisers and Czars send their people "to the churches to fall upon your knees before God and pray for the brave host gone forth to battle." "Providence" has decreed the war ; it is "God" that has "thrust the sword" into the hand of prince and peasant. As one writer aptly put it, "Piety oozes from every word as the war lords call their people to arms."

But the Turk reads and smiles, smiles in contempt. For he has seen with his own eyes the big-mouthed guns on the great ships which have entered his waters "to maintain the peace." and he knows that those guns were built to destroy the lives of men. He knows that for a generation our "Christian nations" have devoted untold sums of money, tireless energy, and the best brains to the invention and production of implements, the sole purpose of which was to curse, torture and destroy the human race, and the greater the capacity for destruction of life and property the more highly were they valued by their possessors. He knows how demoniacally successful these instruments of death are.

We talk of "courage," of "honour," but the Moslem sees the pictures and reads the glowing accounts of "bodies piled six feet high, an unrecognisable mass of flesh and blood and wreckage." The mines explode, the submarines are busy, the wire entanglements charged with electricity are all at work, blotting out lives by the thousands. The faces of strong, splendid young men greet us each week in leading European papers under the title, "Dead on the Field of Honour," but we cannot explain it all to Islam, for it sees only this—Christians at each other's throats seeking each other's life blood.

He reads the charges and counter-charges of atrocities, of broken treaties and treachery.

Why wonder that the Moslems of Turkey ask the question the young girl asked my wife, "Wherein is Christianity less savage and more peace-loving than we?"

This is no time to equivocate, to hesitate, to falter. Sincerity, Faith, Love—these we need, these He has promised to give to those who will take Him at His word and follow where He leads. Out against the blackness of this world-horror, illumining the darkness with the light which broke through the gloom of darker days and put an end to the bloody conflicts of the Roman arena, there may yet shine the light which glowed at Pentecost and turned the thoughts of many to the Saviour of the World.

S. RALPH HARLOW.

Smyrna.

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III. ALGIERS

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A PRESS so closely censured makes it difficult to feel the pulse of Moslem thought during the present world crisis. One hesitates, therefore, to express any very definite opinions as to the attitude of Moslems as a whole towards the war.

As to their political attitude, it is significant that there has been no apparent tendency to take advantage of the difficulties of the government. Even in Morocco, where the work of pacification is far from being completed, the war has apparently not affected the situation materially. A native friend, who has just returned from a visit to the interior among tribes which one might expect to be very restive, says that while the war is the one topic of conversation, and there are those who argue in favour of the Germans or the Turks, he saw no indications of even the thought of an uprising. Mr. Smith, of Constantine, writes, "I have only heard of one district where there were rumours of restlessness among the native population."

Doubtless the rapidity and precision of the mobili-

sation were such an indication of military power and preparedness that it would have given pause to the most hot-headed. What the result of a series of severe reverses to the allied arms would be, one would be bold to prophesy. I think, however, that one can now say that the outbreak of the great war has been much less a shock to the loyalty of the Moslems of French North Africa than was generally expected.

The French press has made much of the enlistment of Moslems for the war—perhaps too much—and there is another side to the matter. Nevertheless, the native troops are apparently perfectly loyal, and the desire to enlist is significant.

One thing is quite clear, that there is no longer the same unanimity of hostility to French rule. Whatever may be true of certain sections of the Moslem community, there are large numbers of the more advanced who have come to recognise the great value of French rule, and who desire its maintenance. These, with those who are indifferent, probably make a very large section of the population.

Of course, this is not the place or time for a full discussion of these questions, and perhaps as much has been said as ought to be just now.

Very much might be said concerning the moral attitude of the Moslems towards the war. I doubt whether the moral values at stake really affect them. The fact of great Christian nations being at war is no shock to their moral sensibilities. They saw no incongruity in it. Mr. Purdon, of Tunis, expresses it this way, "The moral aspect of the European war effects the Tunisian very slightly. The reported outrages by German troops make very little real impression upon them. They do not regard it as any evidence of retrogression on the part of Germany, for theory and practice are to the Moslems two separate and distinct sciences which have little relation, if any, to one another. They do not consider it any disgrace to Christianity that such a deplorable state of affairs should exist in Europe, for they have no conception of what Christianity really is." To which may be added that they, therefore, view the war, morally,

not from our, but from their own standpoint, and consequently are not shocked by it as we are.

On the other hand, the world-wide protest against militarism, a remarkable moral phenomenon, the full signification of which we do not yet appreciate, and the universal sympathy and desire to help, are moral indications which must affect Moslem thought greatly.

As a whole, therefore, the religious attitude of the Moslems is not likely to be affected as adversely by the war as many would have considered inevitable. Thus far it has not been made the rallying cry for a pan-Islamic movement for the restoration of the political and moral power of Islam, nor is it easy to see how it can now be so made. As Islam is a religio-social-political system, its present quiescent attitude in this greatest of all crises would seem clearly to indicate in a very significant way the decline of Islam in all its phases.

It would, however, be a serious mistake to assume that there is no longer any danger of a recrudescence of fanaticism which might become a very grave menace to the world. Could Islam but have a common head, a united programme, a definite rallying point, it might well bring grave things to pass. All one can say is that up to the present, during this crisis, this has not been realised, nor does it appear possible that it should now be.

From every point of view, therefore, it appears to the writer that Islam's attitude to this terrible war is one of, to a very considerable degree, disinterestedness; that it is really not after all its affair, and that while it may have its sympathies, it does not really matter much to Islam one way or another which side should prove to be victorious.

Algiers, EDWIN F. FREASE.
October, 1914.

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IV. INDIA

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So far as one can judge from newspaper comments, public addresses, the resolutions of Associations, and the gifts of Associations and individuals, as well as from private conversations, the Moslems of India are united as one man in their loyalty to the British Raj and their willingness to support Great Britain, to the point of utmost sacrifice, in this, her crucial hour. All unite in urging that the voice of complaint and controversy must be hushed in order that Great Britain, at the front, may not suffer the least embarrassment or anxiety by reason of any hint of internal disturbance in her Indian Empire. Looking within the circle of this universal loyalty, one finds two clearly marked and divergent lines of argument underlying it. In accordance with these divisions, we can distinguish two parties among Indian Moslems to-day.

(1) *The Patriotic pro-England Party.*

The adherents of this party are the followers of such outstanding and outspoken champions of Great Britain as the Agha Khan, who has offered not only his moral support and abundant financial aid but his person, as well, to the cause. These people, and the papers which represent their views, such as *The Hablul Matin* in Calcutta and *Paisa Akhbar* in Lahore are saying, in effect: "We must support Great Britain because she is fighting the battle of liberty and honour; as well as selfishly, because the world-wide predominence of Prussian mediaeval ideals of militarism would mean the ultimate end of Moslem solidarity and progress. We must play an enthusiastic, ungrudging part in this crisis as true Moslems." Furthermore, this party has asserted in no uncertain terms that should Turkey throw in her lot with Germany in this war, Moslems in India will not waver in their loyalty to Great Britain, as the Bengal Moslems made clear in their communication to the Turkish Government. The British Moslem Association,

speaking for the Moslems of India, declared in a public manifesto :—

" Words cannot be found to express the anger we feel at Germany daring to proclaim that British Islamic subjects would prove false to their religion and be cowardly enough to attempt to take a mean and contemptible advantage of the country to whom they owe allegiance, and which has accorded them civil and religious liberty and protection. We desire to affirm the unflinching loyalty of British Mussalmans to His Imperial Majesty, King George V., and to assure him that all his subjects of Islamic faith are fully prepared and burning with a desire to shed their blood on behalf of England, side by side with the other sons of Islam, natives of Algeria, who are already fighting for France."

Turkey is bidden to remain neutral and to direct her energies to internal reforms and to the regeneration of the Islamic world. According to a recent issue of *The Hablul Matin*, all that Germany's alleged friendship has done is to cause Turkey to lose her hold on Tripoli and Bosnia and Herzegovina. As for Russia, over against her ancient hostility to Turkey is set the fact of her present alliance with England, who can be counted on to strive to maintain the integrity of Turkey and Persia and whose influence over Russia is certain to be both powerful and beneficent, from the view-point of Turkey's highest interests.

(2) *The Opportunist, pro-Turkey Party.*

The number of Moslems belonging to this wing of Islam in India is not large, but their spirit is vigorous and aggressive. The leaders are Muhamed Ali, the brilliant editor of *The Comrade* and *The Hamdard* of Delhi, and Nawab Zafar Ali Khan, editor of the Lahore *Zemindar*, of dubious notoriety and turbulent history. These papers have become increasingly critical of British rule and rulers in India of late—the Viceroy and a few other individuals excepted. Their criticism has often seemed perversely unreasonable and unjust. At the outbreak of the war their editorials declared in favour of supporting Great Britain, but there was neither enthusiasm nor conviction in the tone. Without admitting the righteousness of the cause of the Allies, holders of public opinion have counselled true Moslems in India to pray and fight for and with Great Britain on grounds of naked expediency. India must have British

rule (with all its faults!) at the present time and for some time to come. Therefore, the defeat of Great Britain might spell calamity for the Indian Empire, which is as yet unable to stand alone. Therefore, a policy of "My country, right or wrong," is justified, not on grounds of blind devotion but of far-seeing opportunism. As the war has progressed, pro-German sympathies have become increasingly manifest. All that can be gleaned from the telegrams in favour of Germany and in support of the righteousness of her cause is given a prominent place. The worst that can be told of her "atrocities" is declared to be humane in comparison with Italy's brutality in the late war with Turkey. All utterances of the anti-war party in Great Britain, to the effect that the war is unnecessary and iniquitous, are culled from home papers and reprinted for the benefit of the Moslem public in India. There are sneers for Italy on the score of her broken plight with Germany and Austria upon the flimsiest pretext. With regard to Egypt, Great Britain is reminded of past promises of early evacuation, and is asked whether these promises are more than "scraps of paper" in the light of later history. Says a recent issue of *The Comrade*:—

"But the truest test of conscience and courage for England is not so much to declare war on Germany for a breach of Belgium's treaty rights as to evacuate Egypt of her own free will, even before a diplomatic demand is formulated by Turkey or Egypt. Nothing would shame Germany so well as this act of clear justice. The embarkation of the last English soldier from Alexandria will put the fear of God into the heart of the Kaiser more assuredly than the disembarkation of the last English soldier available in the Empire at Boulogne or Havre."

The enmity of both Russia and France toward Turkey is depicted in vivid colours. Indeed, the hostile attitude of all of the present Allies at the time of Turkey's war with Greece is called to mind, and the question is asked, "If Turkey chooses to strike Greece when her patron saint, Russia, cannot come to her rescue, who can blame her?" There is the utmost sympathy for Turkey in her present predicament, and the threatening attitude toward Turkey of such English papers as *The Times* is denounced as mischievous and hypocritical.

Nevertheless, Turkey has been adjured by this party,

too, to remain neutral, if possible, in the interests of her own highest destiny. To quote *The Comrade* again :—

" But admiration and sympathy are one thing ; making the cause of Germany our own is another. If any cause can be ours, it is the British, and if Germany counts on us she is grievously mistaken. It would be bad business for Turkey also to lavish on Germany the lives and energies and resources that she needs for her own quarrels, and that Germany never spared for her when she was beset by still greater perils. Germany has done nothing yet for the Turks to deserve the sacrifice of a single rupee, much less a street riot in a single town or village of India by the Moslem sympathisers of Turkey with a view to embarrass their own Government."

The general hope that the war will be brief, and the coming peace, honourable and permanent, has not been more nobly expressed than by Nawab Nizamat Jung, the notable Moslem poet of Hyderabad :—

" A hundred toilsome years have rolled in vain
Since one proud eagle drooped his shattered wings ;
Another rises—and the welkin rings
With the mad cry, " For Glory " once again !
And legions rush through carnage to attain
Some fancied good that blood-stained Conquest brings ;
Is it the boast of Councils and of Kings,
O God ! to triumph over millions' pain ?
Guardians of Good ! Ye nations of the West !
'Tis Mind, not Force, doth Nations' worth attest.
Force died with Rome—high Thought hath outlived Greece !
Be thine, O England ! thine the nobler pride
To win true Glory with the arts of Peace ! " .

Lahore, India. HOWARD ARNOLD WALTER.

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IN A REAR-GUARD ACTION

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REARGUARD fighting had been going on for several days, of all forms of warfare the most trying to the nerve and spirit of an army. Mile after mile through the sultry weather the men had had to fall back, leaving dead and wounded behind them, yet keeping their battle line facing the foe, and their hearts in tune for victory. It was a rear-guard action, not a retreat.

At last a river delayed the backward march, and across one of its bridges two regiments retired, with the enemy close behind ; so close that by the time the last was over, machine guns were being planted on the shore they had left. That bridge must be blown up instantly.

Down plunged a band of the Engineers, and laid an explosive there, and were swept to death by the sharp-shooters before it could be fired. Then followed a moment that no one who saw it will forget. Out rushed a man to light the fuse, and fell dead before he was half way: another followed, racing across the body of his comrade, and falling a few yards beyond, under the hail of bullets: a third, a fourth, a fifth, on till the eleventh had leapt down the bank and perished. Then for some reason there was a moment's lull on the other side; the twelfth reached the fuse and set it alight, and the bridge went up with a roar as he sank lifeless.

* * * *

A rear-guard action, with its call on the higher ranges of our courage, seems before us this winter in the spiritual fight with Islam. Instead of pushing forward into fresh advance all along the line, as we hoped last spring in view of the proposed Conferences throughout the Near East, there is a likelihood of shortage of funds, of workers being cut off from returning to their posts, of doors closing again that seemed swinging open at last. Worse than these, the future holds a possible time of sore testing to the converts and enquirers of Moslem lands, should those lands become involved in the strife of the nations.

The first point is, that should a backward sweep come, we must take it on trust as being no real victory to the invisible hosts of darkness against whom we wrestle, but in some unknown way, a part of our Leader's plan, a drawing us up to some vantage ground that will give us a better impetus than ever before. And, therefore, never for one moment must our spirits fail with the sense of having been defeated when circumstances tell against us. We are *not* in retreat! Let each of us keep the indomitable hope of the hero of Browning's Epilogue:—

> "One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward,
> Never doubted clouds would break,
> Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
> Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better, sleep to wake."

And it may be, that while much of fresh human organisation has to lie low this winter, there may be

calls to an individual "élan" that will come to one and another on a higher plane than the days of outward progress ever knew.

Some of us remember the time, a generation ago, when the first fruits of promise in Uganda seemed blighted. The climax came one day when a chief interviewed the missionaries, saying that he had tried Christianity for several years, but found himself none the better, and was going back to heathenism. The company of missionaries went down before God, and one of them, Pilkington, set himself in the hour of apparent defeat, to seek such a power of the Spirit as should revolutionise the position. God gave that one man to light the fuse that set Uganda ablaze with revival. The spiritual upheaval that followed, sprang from no sweep of general advance, but from the low levels of its recoil, and by one soul who in that darkness heard and obeyed His voice.

Shall we who have His cause in Islam at heart yield ourselves to Him in this New Year's time, dim though its outlook may be, to seek the kindling of that "power from on High" which carries the human elements that make for success or failure, like chaff before the wind—to seek it for ourselves and for our battle-line at any cost, like the soldiers who flung themselves down the river bank to light the fuse.

We may be a mark for the assaults of the devil if we give ourselves to this, "the utmost for the highest" in the fight; it may be across a very real losing of our life in its inner sense, that we win through to the goal. Would it not be worth while, that "loss for Christ," whatever it might involve, if to us were given to fire the train in the heavenly dynamics, that will check the hosts of darkness, and turn the tide to victory just when retreat looks near? If God can find His volunteer, this winter's rear-guard action, should it lie before us, may end in better things than our slow thoughts dreamed. For He is our God, "who strengtheneth the spoiled against the strong, so that the spoiled come up against the fortress."

LILIAS I. TROTTER.

Algiers.

ISLAM AND NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY*

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II. ENGLAND AND HER DEPENDENCIES

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ISLAM is a political, social and religious problem for every one of the British Dominions in which it exists in any strength. Their policy in regard to it is a matter of national responsibility, and, therefore, the final responsibility for their conduct rests with the Home Government and the people who put them in power. How vast this responsibility is may be perceived from the large number of Moslems under our rule. These are estimated at 22,606,344 in Africa and 67,871,767 in Asia. Thus in all we are entrusted with the material, moral and spiritual interests of 90,478,111 Moslems, while only 13,278,800 remain under the Khalifat in the OTTOMAN Empire, and 76,596,219 under all other Western Governments put together.

No believer in God can doubt that there is a Divine Purpose in this, nor can any Christian fail to see that our Lord's words, "Ye shall be witnesses unto Me," impose upon us the duty of evangelising the greater part of the Mohammedan world.

How are we discharging this duty? What is the attitude towards their evangelisation taken by the Government authorities in Asia and Africa, in those extensive regions which owe allegiance to England?

Omitting Egypt and South Africa for the present, we proceed to consider the state of affairs in India, East and East Central Africa, and West Africa.

*This series of articles opened with Miss J. von Meyer's paper on Russia. *Moslem World*, April, 1914.

I. The Moslem population of India, including Ceylon, is about sixty-six millions. Moslems are most numerous in North India, where they form more than half the population of the Punjab, of Bengal and Assam, and of Kashmir, and nearly the whole of that of the North West Frontier Province and of Baluchistan. Almost all Missionary Societies at work in India have men and women engaged in preaching the Gospel to Moslems as well as to others. It is well-known that the Indian Government professes strict religious neutrality, and that it has generously helped education, not only by establishing secular schools and colleges of its own, but also by giving Grants-in-aid to both Christian and Moslem, Hindu and other institutions, in due proportion to the secular work which they do. There are Government as well as Mission hospitals.

Government has given special inducements to Moslems to accept a Western education. Unless in this way, it cannot be said that, except very recently in one instance, any undue encouragement has been afforded to Islam as such.

The instance we refer to is, of course, the Islamia College at Peshawar. This College was opened last year, under the auspices of the Local Government, and the whole weight of that Government was thrown into the scale in its favour by a system of "tied" scholarships attached to it and provided out of public funds. This policy was adopted to the detriment of the Edwardes College, which had for many years done an admittedly excellent work among the youth of the Afghan and frontier tribes, and regarding which a great educational authority has thus borne witness: "Nowhere in India have I seen an Institution where all external features were so eminently adapted to foster the spirit of orderly work, and with it mental and physical cleanness." The Government has gone so far in the way of encouraging a Moslem College in Peshawar in opposition to a Christian one, that it actually gives Rs. 42,000 per annum as a Grant-in-aid to the new Islamia College, and only Rs. 200 a year to the Edwardes College. This conduct is in direct opposition to their professed neutrality in religious

matters. It is a "Political experiment" which may have far-reaching results, and it has naturally produced far and wide the impression that the Government is hostile to Christianity and strongly in favour of Islam. To produce such an impression is a political blunder of the first magnitude. Such an unfair step should be retraced at once.

II. We now turn to East Africa, including East Central Africa. In Uganda (Buganda) itself the European officials are so favourably impressed by what they have seen of the good results of missionary work that they encourage it. The same thing is true of the out-districts in general; the few officials who favour Islam there not being themselves inclined to a Christian so much as to a Moslem moral code. In the whole Uganda diocese there are some 78,000 Moslems out of a population of 3,700,000. In the Nile Province, recently taken over by the Sudan Government, there are few Moslems as yet, but they are coming in the form of Egyptian officials and Nubian soldiers. As yet, however, the lamentable policy adopted in the Sudan has not been introduced.

In British East Africa the 23,000 Indians are mostly Moslems, and their influence is increasing. All over this Protectorate, even in out-of-the-way places, there are shops kept by Indian Moslems. (The same thing may be said concerning German East Africa.) From the Juba River southwards along the coast there are to be found numbers of Mohammedans, who are especially to be noticed in such places as Gasi, Mombasa, Malindi, Takaungu, Lamu. In the Hinterland of the coast-strip from the Juba to the Tana are Somalis and many Moslem tribesmen. A few villages in the Kenia and Kikuyu highlands are entirely Moslem, while in and around Nairobi are to be found a large number of traders professing Islam. A fairly large part of the adult population in Bokwa and Gedja, north of the Uguru Mountains, is Mohammedan.

The Government of British East Africa seems to aim at *conserving* Islam wherever it finds that faith. While not actively and officially supporting Islam, the Govern-

ment—as represented by not a few of its officers—likes to see it supplanting Paganism. At present the Government "appears to put obstacles in the way of all concerned in seeking to evangelise the people of British East Africa." So much has this been the case that not long since the various Missions sent a special Deputation to urge that the Government should at least be *neutral*, and no longer *use its influence* to keep the chiefs and others from Christian teaching, nor shew a tendency to encourage Islam as more suitable for the people than Christianity. The Government has gone out of its way to build, open, staff and support schools for Arabs, Suahelis and others, in which no Christian teaching may be given. There are some reasons for hoping, however, that this foolish and unworthy policy will be modified, if not abandoned.

III. In West Africa in general and in Nigeria in particular, the Local English Government has pursued and is still pursuing a line of policy in favour of Islam which is a disgrace to the British nation.

Above all, in Northern Nigeria the Government openly takes the side of Islam and as openly opposes Christian mission work. Moslem teachers are permitted to propagate their religion quite freely wherever they please, while Christian missionaries are in some cases forbidden access even to Pagan tribes. For instance: though the Haüsas are for the most part Moslems, yet it is not generally known that there are among them, living in villages in the Emirates of Kano and Zaria, a considerable number of true Haüsas who have hitherto refused to accept Islam. They are called the Maguzawa, and are not to be confounded with the Pagans of the Bauchi Province, who do not speak Haüsa. Missionaries have been prohibited from access to these Maguzawa, lest on their way thither they should come in contact with Moslem enquirers. This would, in the opinion of the Government, lay the administration open to the charge of *allowing* a Mission to Moslems, *which they say they are pledged not to do!* Thus our local Government identifies itself with Islam against Christianity, and actually adopts an attitude towards Christian Missions which

the Islamic Government of Persia itself no longer ventures to take up. The missionaries are actually afraid to inform the English public of the worst details of the way in which their work is restricted and the Mohammedan religion recognised as patronised by the Government and treated as if it were the established religion of this English Protectorate, lest worse oppression should follow. Yet in the *Times* some two years ago an Englishman in high position was permitted to urge that no religious instruction except Mohammedan should be allowed in the Government Schools, nor did that journal admit a reply to appear. Hence the Koran is now taught by Moslem teachers in all Government Schools in Mohammedan districts, and Islamic Law is now being introduced and administered in Pagan tribes in Northern Nigeria. This "is worse than a crime; it is a blunder."

The Yoruba country contains about 2,500,000 people. Till comparatively recently these were practically all Pagan, having resisted the Mohammedan invasion from the North. The chief exception was the city of Ilorin. Islam, however, did not spread much in the Yoruba country till after the British Protectorate was made effective, about A.D. 1893. The "Pax Britannica" has led to Moslem teachers from the North establishing their religion wherever they go. Now nearly every village has its Mosque as well as its Church.

We now come to the Sierra Leone Colony and Protectorate. The former is regarded as nominally Christian, the latter contains a population of about 1,323,151, perhaps half of whom are Moslems. The Government seems to aim at observing religious neutrality, but evidently prefers, if it must err in the matter at all, to err in favour of Islam. Its general attitude towards Islam has been described as "half fear, half favour," owing probably to a greatly exaggerated idea of the likelihood of a Pan-Islamic movement if Moslem susceptibilities should be excited. It is far easier for the Government to include the Pagans under the head of Mohammedans than to recognise and make provision for so many rude and savage heathen sects; yet, when (as has happened) this feeling leads to the

prohibition of Christian teaching and the use of the Koran as a text-book in a school for the sons of both heathen and Mohammedan chiefs (on the plea that it is a Moslem, though Government, school), to the appointment of a Moslem chaplain to a regiment of Moslems and heathens mixed, while refusing Christian clergy access to their quarters, or again to the selection of only Mohammedan chiefs for presentation to distinguished visitors—all this is a direct encouragement of Islam on the part of the Government.

We are glad to notice that, whereas from 1900 onward the Government has maintained a number of Moslem schools at the expense of public funds, there is now the prospect of that system being altered. The Government has just begun to make grants-in-aid to Mission schools, but this system is still in its infancy.

A good deal of the attitude of Government towards Islam is due to the utterly mistaken idea that all the people in the Protectorate who are not professing Christians are Moslems. So far is this from being the case that probably half of them are Pagans still. This is true of the Temne and Mandi tribes in particular.

It should be understood that Christian missionaries are not the foes but the friends of Moslems. The Koran itself says, "Of all men . . . thou shalt certainly find those to be nearest in affection to them" (*i.e.*, to Moslems), "who say, 'We are Christians'" (Sûrah *Al Mâidah*, 85). The English "Colonial" Governments help the Moslem population in many ways, for instance in giving peace, justice, security for life and property, and secular education, and in preventing oppression and cruelty. But these things are not enough in themselves to make men truly happy, for "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." We wish to bring them to the knowledge of Him whom their own Koran acknowledges to be *Kalimatu'llâh*, "The Word of God." We are their debtors until we give them what we prize most ourselves —spiritual peace, and the knowledge and love of God, concerning which things one highly honoured by all Moslems is reported to have said, *Mâ 'arafnâka haqqa*

ma'rifatika, " We have not known Thee as Thou shouldst be known." The truth of this saying will be clear to anyone who compares the following two passages, one from a famous Arabic writer and the other from the Old Testament. Tâju'ddîni's Sulkî writes: " Kun ma' Allâhi ka'lmayyit baina yadai 'lghâsil ": " become with God as the corpse before the washer." But Isaiah says: " Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on Thee, because he trusteth in Thee. Trust ye in the Lord for ever: for in the LORD Jehovah is everlasting strength." Man needs this loving trust in God, and Christ alone can give it.

Heathens who receive Christian teaching as well as secular education are outstripping Moslems in India and Uganda. Why then train the rising generation in Nigeria and elsewhere in a system which can at best turn their country into another Morocco, or a Persia, or a Syria? Why refuse to give to Moslems—if they will accept it—the very best thing which England can offer them, the " Gift of God," which is " eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord? "

We thankfully admit that the " Pax Britannica " has made possible the proclamation of the Gospel in some Moslem lands (Egypt, for example), and in a measure even in the Turkish Empire proper. Moreover, not a few large-hearted Christian British civilians and officers (such as Lord Lawrence, Sir H. Edwardes, Sir R. Montgomery, Sir D. Macleod, Generals Lake, Reynell Taylor, and Maclagan, and Colonel Martin, in the Punjab), have by their noble personal influence, conduct and character, opened doors for the entrance of the Gospel among Mohammedans, even in such bigoted places as Peshawar. But there now seems to be in some quarters a tendency to refuse Moslems, such as the Haüsa tribes, the religious liberty to which they have as much right as the heathens around them, and to insist on keeping from them the teaching of Him of whom the Koran speaks so highly. This, in the best interests of the Moslems themselves, we deplore. We demand the restoration of the wise policy pursued in the Punjab first and more recently in the rest of India, and that English " Colonial " Governments

should be delivered from the blunder that once disgraced in that country the East India Company's rule.

It is surely evident that under no circumstances is the Government of an English Dependency or Protectorate justified in forbidding Christian mission work to be introduced and carried on in the regions committed to their charge. We may grant that the Government should observe religious neutrality as a Government, though its members, if they are Christian men in any true sense, *cannot* and ought not to try to conceal the fact, but must exercise a decidedly Christian influence in their public as well as in a private capacity. But the Christian Churches of the British Empire and of the United States *have a right to demand* that, if English local Governments do not help forward the spread of the Gospel, *at the very least they should no longer be permitted to oppose it*, or to thwart the noble and self-denying efforts of our missionaries, who are devoting their lives to obeying our Divine Lord's last Command, and are doing work which, wherever it has been fairly tested, is acknowledged, even by non-Christians, to have produced the highest mental, moral and spiritual results.

W. St. Clair Tisdall
(*Vicar of St. George's, Deal*).

MOHAMMEDANISM IN CAPETOWN

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As early as 1812 Colebrook wrote, "Mohammedanism is said to be gaining ground among the slaves and free people of colour at Cape Town—*i.e.*, more converts among blacks of every description are made from Paganism to the Mohammedan religion than to Christianity, notwithstanding the zealous exertions of pious missionaries. One cause of this perversion is asserted to be the marked disinclination of slave owners to allow their slaves to be baptised, arising from some erroneous notions or overcharged apprehension of the rights which a baptised slave acquires. Slaves are certainly impressed with the idea that such a disinclination subsists, and it is not an infrequent answer of a slave when asked his motives for becoming Mohammedan, "that some religion he must have, and he is not allowed to become a Christian." Prejudice in this respect is wearing out, and more encouragement is given to the conversion of slaves than heretofore. Masters, it is affirmed, begin to find out that their slaves serve not the worse for instruction received in religious duties. Missionaries who devote themselves specially to the religious instruction of slaves, and there is one in each of the principal towns, have increasing congregations, and hope their labours are not unfruitful, but the Moslem priest with less exertion has a greater flock."

And in the early records of the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel we read, "Every day the number of proselytes to Mohammedanism is increasing . . . Noble examples of giving freedom to the slaves of this persuasion have always been sanctioned by law. By far the greater number of those liberated on December 1st next will also become professed Mohammedans. No desire has been shown, generally speaking, on the part of professing

Christians for the conversion of the coloured population. The slaves oppressed by their heavy yoke are excluded from partaking of the privileges and comforts of our holy religion, torn from their children, cruelly beaten, badly treated, have in return no predilection for their faith."

A Civil servant of the Colony said in 1822, "It must be owned with shame and sorrow that Mohammedanism makes great progress among the lower orders of the Cape."

So early is the evidence as to the spread of Islam in South Africa. The Church of England did not enter the field till 1848, when Bishop Gray concerned himself to secure a worker among the Malays. Dr. Camilleri, a Maltese, arrived in that year and stayed till 1854. In this latter year the Bishop found that Sir George Gray had been approached to prevent missions among the Malays, but nothing was done till 1871, when Father Benson, of the S.S.J.E., was approached in vain. Dr. Arnold arrived in 1875, after working in India and Batavia, but that work also stopped with his death. In 1881 the Bishop remarked that people in England were cold and dead to the appeal, and contributed only one thousand six hundred and seventy pounds towards a capital fund for the stipends of the Malay workers, though it was the plainest and most evident pathway for Mission work which God was opening out at that time. "Something is stirring their hearts." In 1887 a priest volunteered, but went on to work among the lepers on Robbin Island. In 1890 Miss Pellat worked as lady doctor, from 1896 to 1903, when she retired, having lost the sight of both eyes. This was a most valuable work, the cessation of which was particularly disastrous.

In 1820 the Malays are said to have been three thousand. In 1858 the Moslem population of Cape Town was five thousand—*i.e.*, a fifth of the population. In the last census but one they had grown to thirteen thousand odd in Cape Colony, and in 1911 the Mohammedan population of Cape Colony was about twenty-seven thousand, the greater bulk of them living in Cape Town as before. The present total population of Cape

Town is about one hundred and sixty-one thousand, of which seventy-four thousand are coloured, not Bantu; this would make the Malay population something over a third of the coloured population, but the number of fezes seen in the streets show that the statistics may not be correct. The whole Cape Colony now numbers twenty-four thousand one hundred and eighty-nine Mohammedans, and Transvaal 8,198, of whom thirty-one are returned as whites. Against this I can testify by computation with another missionary, to *forty* white Mohammedans in Cape Town alone, showing that they naturally shrink from returning themselves as such in the census.

As early as 1850 Archdeacon Lightfoot stated, "Bishop Gray was horrified at five European women immigrants becoming Mohammedan. About the year 1900 Archdeacon Lightfoot said that very rarely do whites become Mohammedan, and that some Mohammedans tended to become Christians; now, unfortunately, the tendency is very much the opposite." A great turn in the history of the Cape Mohammedans took place in 1870. A European member of the Legislative Council applied to the Sultan of Constantinople for the more perfect teaching of their religion to the Mohammedans of Cape Town. The result was to separate the Mohammedans much more definitely from the coloured population in dress, customs, and spirit, and to connect them much more closely with Arab lands, the opening up of steam connections with Zanzibar, making pilgrimage to Mecca more easy, also occurred about the same time. An illustration in this connection has recently been before us in Cape Town in the much advertised arrival of four so-called "bishops," representing "the high bishop of Mecca and Zanzibar." The coming of Indian Mohammedans and religious deputations from India have formed a second bond with Mohammedan lands, and so the foreign influence is no longer tentative, but established, and propaganda in this country is proportionately widespread. At Port Elizabeth, East London, Bloemfontein, Kimberly, Pretoria, Mafeking, Natal, Baira, as far as Zululand, and the principal towns in the Union on the

Rand one can find keen propagators of Mohammedanism. At Krugersdorp, in one location, religion is represented by a large mosque alone, and a lady discovered that her coachman had been to Mecca and is now preparing four white men for reception into Mohammedanism. The influence of Al Azhar is felt in Cape Town. A mosque and a school are called by its name here, and an Egyptian Imam is at the head of it. The leading men of the Cape Mohammedans have studied a considerable number of years in Cairo at the Azhar, and the influence of Cairo will be greater when the Cape to Cairo railway is established. Unfortunately, this connection with the East does not necessarily stand for enlightenment. The moral condition of the chief city of Islam is notorious, and it is found to-day in Africa that the very witch doctors who practise Malay trickery, victimise Christians, both white and coloured, more especially women, qualifying themselves for this work by pilgrimage to Mecca, when they receive the title of "Hadji," so that unmentionable immorality is practised religiously by the very leaders of religion. Not a few of these cases have been tried and heavily punished in court, but from the nature of the cases they cannot be set down here.

On the other hand, they have bettered their instruction and borrowed from somewhere a rite similar to that used in some Bantu tribes and known as circumcision of girls, regarded as initiating irrevocably Christian girls into their religion, while they assume rites already known to Islam, and Christian rites, and call them by Christian names, so that they may say, "We have the same Bible, bishop, priest, Holy Communion, baptism, etc., as you have!"

Socially, the Mohammedans are getting complete control of certain trades, such as tailoring, building, fruit and vegetable selling, driving, fishing, etc.

As regards marriage, while the law takes no account of Mohammedan marriage as being polygamous, custom makes it positively easier to have a Christian wife in this country than a Mohammedan, because among themselves a dowry has to be paid, but the Christian girl is put off with two and sixpence to fulfil the letter of the Koran,

while the man can always say, "I have not legally married," if the girl is found under age. Very seldom, if ever, do these unfortunate girls come back to their former faith, but stay on as Mohammedans. To-day there are no less than four hundred and fifty Christian children under seven years of age being brought up by Mohammedans. These figures are obtained from the Child Life Protection Society and the Government registers. A large number of adults also, white and coloured, English and Dutch, of all denominations, are through intermarrying, swelling the number.

S. GARABEDIAN.

II.

Nearly three years ago I ventured to quote a statement from what I considered a good authority, to the effect that at the lowest one-third of the Malay population at Cape Town was recruited from among Christians. A South African magazine challenged those who knew Cape Town better than myself to deny this statement. Alas! no one did so, and alas! again, the expert missionary among Moslems, whom the Diocese of the Cape had brought out, declares that my figure is below the mark. I venture, however, with more confidence, to submit my personal experience of this work.

Let me say at once, that my own bent of mind is toward "breadth of mind and toleration." I would like the customs of all nations to be swept into the Catholic Church, with a minimum of pruning. I have no objection to turning into the Jewish synagogue for worship, and I remember a very interesting visit to a Cape Town mosque, when I was hospitably offered tea and *komfet*. But since I have realised what the local Mohammedanism means to the Christian life of the place, I am more careful.

It is picturesque enough to see the coloured people, Christian and Malay, parade the streets in dresses of the seventeenth century at New Year, or to walk in Plain Street and watch the varied mingling of *doekje* and *fez* on a Saturday night; but when one realises that this proximity of Christian and Mohammedan means a steady stream from the former to the latter, it does indeed give one food for thought.

The coloured people of Cape Town are, to an incredible extent, victimised by the Malay, and the same is true of an increasing number of whites ; while among Christians, coloured and white, there is too much content to acquiesce in the lukewarmness of our Christianity over against the keenness of the Mohammedan, largely, as one would fain hope, through ignorance of the enormous progress of the latter. But let me give incidents from my own experience.

The number of mosques to-day is given in the press as forty in Cape Town district, a much larger number than that of our churches. We one day passed seven in a half-mile walk, but I was told that behind the houses there were eight within a quarter of a mile. One of the mosques was surrounded by churches—Anglican, Lutheran, Dutch Reformed, and Wesleyan. My guide explained that the influence of the mosque was by no means hemmed in but rather was a cancer in the midst of the Christian congregations ; and passing so many Christian and Mohammedan houses standing cheek by jowl, one could well imagine it would be so, and how intermarriages come about by children playing together. He pointed out some of the more recent cases which had been Christian and were now Mohammedans. At one corner was a fine house inhabited by a polygamist. Further on we passed a mosque with an English patron, related to a dignitary of the church, it is said, but married to an Imam's daughter. My guide also related the case of a Hertfordshire man, whose wife, during his absence at Johannesburg as a mine officer, had called in a Malay witch doctor for her child, and spent a pile of money.

A walk through Cape Town will convince one with any knowledge of its history that, as a Devonshire girl, one of many victims, said the other day, " The Malays want to whiten their race." One sees so large a proportion of European eyes and faces under a *fez* or *doek*. The names, too, of any list of Malays, will have a large proportion of European names. Among the so-called churchwardens of a mosque at Paarl one finds the names of du Toit, Domingo, de Vos, Groenewald (note both Latin and Teutonic elements), while an original Malay here has always a Mohammedan name.

We went to see another victim of superstition in one of the suburbs of Cape Town, the son of a German and a slightly coloured woman, who was suffering from hip disease. He passed for a white man, having been in the volunteers. He had been in the hospital, but both he and his mother were persuaded to consult a Malay doctor, the mother giving him a horse and cart and clothing for his services, although she was very poor and hardly able to afford this. The boy, who said he was educated at St. Michael's Convent, was mercilessly chaffed in the Court at the trial, for his avowal of belief at that time in the Mohammedan sorcerer, whose paraphernalia, including a skull, and so on, were produced in Court. This shows what good reason the victims, as well as victimisers, have to dread publicity. Had I seen the lad without hearing his story and reading the press report of the case, I could not have believed that he could have been entangled, even unwittingly, in so much superstition.

We went on to visit the Malay college of nearly fifty students at Mowbery flats, a very quiet suburb. Another college had recently been opened with much pomp near Bishopscourt, where the Moslem high priest of Claremont stands over against His Grace the Archbishop. This is the third college opened recently, the others being at Constantia and between Zonnebloem College and St. Phillip's, to which latter mosque school Dr. Abdurrahman says three hundred pounds were contributed by Europeans. On the way we passed the shop where a girl organist lives with an Indian Mohammedan, opposite the chapel where she played before.

After leaving the Mohammedan College with its large mosque on the plan of the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem, a conversation between a police sergeant and my guide revealed a weird amount of crime in connection with the place, affecting Christians, not only coloured but white. We proceeded to call on one such case, an English painter, a minister's son, and his Colonial wife. The story cannot be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the affidavit, of which I have read a copy, reveals treatment by half a dozen Malays, nearly all being holy men (Hajis, etc.), costing ten pounds odd, without the

husband's knowledge, and ending with repeated assaults. The man was given a term of hard labour. It is only by great perseverance that our missionary has been able to bring such cases to light. It is evident that Christians so deceived, especially Europeans, shrink from such matters becoming public property. This last case came to light by a Malay woman suggesting to the bereaved mother that a second death in the family was due to Malay trickery, which, therefore, required a Malay witch doctor to stop it. It is very painful to have to record these cases, but we are dealing with an evil which cannot and must not be hidden. Although I have done all I can to avoid shocking my readers, I have quite failed to give adequate expression to the sordidness of the case. I need only say that my guide obviously commanded the confidence of the C.I.D. and Police, but I am only dealing with cases which came under my observation, and I saw quite enough to convince me that the Mohammedan danger to our Christian people, both coloured and white, was immensely graver than I had ever realised, and that the work of combating it needs urgent and whole-hearted support. It is good to know that there is at hand an honorary worker, a priest full of zeal, with such an extraordinary measure of common sense and acuteness as would do credit to a first-class detective expert, and the additional advantage of speaking fluently both Arabic and Hindustani, so that he can meet on their own ground both the Malay Imams and also the Indian Mohammedan.

I might add that not only the Archbishop's Advisory Committee for the work, but also many English ladies in Cape Town are watching and helping with great interest and keenness, and I am assured that Mr. Garabedian does not move without security of able counsel as to the legal points in each case.

The *Church Times* has done well to draw attention in a recent appreciative article to this wonderful and most necessary work. "A CHURCHMAN."

"THE DEAD WEIGHT OF ISLAM" IN NORTH AFRICA

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In our consideration of the progress of Islam in Africa, it must be remembered that "until the foundations of Islam in the North are shaken and removed, the Christianity which may be established in Central Africa, will be perpetually exposed to its assaults."

If there were, or ever had been, any redeeming power in Islam, North Africa, during the last 1,000 years would have furnished ample scope for its manifestation. The record of this millenium is such that the inhabitants of each of the several countries are in probably a lower state of civilization than they were in the Seventh or Eighth Centuries, before the followers of the false prophet had over-run the land, and when there still survived the remnants of the ancient Christian Church.

The arrival of the Saracens has had more influence in moulding the destinies of the people of North Africa than any other power. Scarcely had 100 years elapsed from the Hijira before those daring sons of Ishmael had conquered Egypt and over-run the whole of the North of Africa like an avalanche, carrying everything before them, overthrowing cities in their march, and wiping out all traces of the once flourishing Churches from Alexandria to Tangier. In 711 the standard of the Crescent was even placed on the Rock of Gibraltar.

Until the middle of the eleventh century comparatively few Arabs had settled in Morocco, save those in connection with the ruling classes; but when they did come, they advanced in force. "The origin of the

movement was the transportation of a large number of Arabs from Nejd and Hajaz (Arabia) about the end of the tenth century to Upper Egypt, where they never satisfactorily settled; so they turned their steps towards the more promising West, by way of the Sahara, south of Algeria."

A century later Yakub El-Mansur introduced a large number of Arabs from Tunis and Tripoli, who had stopped short in their journey to Spain to join their brethren in Andalusia.

By the end of the eleventh century it is estimated that over 250,000 Arabs had settled in the "Land of the Setting Sun." These have now increased to some 3,100,000 inhabitants. From that day on, Morocco has been under the heel of Islam.

A missionary in Morocco records an interview with a Moslem fiqih—a clever young Moor, who had just returned from College at Fez. In concluding the argument respecting the merits of Christianity and Mohammedanism, the fiqih said, "You are not straightforward in your arguments, for, suppose that I had been born in England—my father and my grandfather—and always surrounded by Christian influence, as you have been, I have no hesitation in saying I would have been a Christian. Now, if you have anything more than I have, you have nothing to boast of. It was God who caused the Gospel of Jesus to spread over Europe, and Islam along North Africa."

Must we not to a certain extent admit the truth of his argument, and read behind it the cause of the downtrodden state of all the countries in North Africa. We have in these last days witnessed the final transference of the remaining territory under the hand of the Moslem to European Christian powers. Gladly would we believe this were working for a higher state of manhood and womanhood. Have we not to recognise, however, how far short we stand at the present day, in view of the following statement by Dr. Robert Kerr, of Rebas, Morocco:—

"Eventually we hope that greater facilities will be given to missionary work, but my opinion is that for

many years the difficulties will be infinitely greater even than they have been in the past. This is not due to active opposition on the part of the Moslems, but comes from callous indifference, and from disgust caused by the immoral lives of foreigners (called Christians) who have come to take up their abode in the country. With all their bigotry and fanaticism the Moslems had come to love, and admire, the self-denying missionaries. The Medical work all over Morocco has opened many doors and many hearts which would otherwise have been closed. The Moslems felt rebuked by the upright lives of those who had come to do them good. The early merchants were men of principle and integrity, and were an influence for good, but now, with the large influx of questionable immigrants, the Moslems spit on the ground, and say, 'God preserve us from being Christians!'

"Often the Moors ask, 'Do those drinking saloons, gambling dens, and houses of ill fame, represent the Christianity of Europe?'

"'No,' I reply, 'they do not.'

"'Well, Doctor,' they remark, 'don't you think that it would be much better for you to turn your attention to the Christians, and when once you have raised them to the level of the respectable Moslem community, then come back to us?'

"'False Christianity, as it has come to Morocco, causes one to reflect, and thank God that we have been born in a land of Gospel light and liberty. If the Gospel has done so much for our beloved land it can do the same for Morocco.'

"There is much anxiety regarding the future Protestant Missions in Morocco. It is painful to learn that the British Government safeguarded the French Catholic Missions in Egypt by the Anglo-French agreement, but altogether ignored the British Protestant Missions in Morocco. Spain has also safeguarded the Catholic Missions by treaty rights."

Despite the extent to which the Christian nations fall short of Christian practice, as political and social forces, may we not believe that the political deliverance from the power of Islam will be the first step towards

the "open door" for missionary service, through which a higher social life and morality may enter. It is for the Christian Church in all lands to rise to the occasion.

While many tribes of Central Africa have been turning towards Mohammed, and have been taking the teachings of the Koran as their law of life, North Africa is possibly loosening in its allegiance to Islam. The new spirit in Egypt is diffusing itself all along the Mediterranean Coast, and great political changes are taking place. The Church is taking advantage of the new condition, and the native Church of Egypt, through the influence of the American Mission, is sending missionaries to neighbouring lands. The Methodist Episcopal Church has organised mission work, under Bishop Hartzell, in Algiers. The Rev. E. F. Frease, Superintendent of the North Africa Mission, writes: "The way is at last opening for the Christian Church to throw an adequate missionary force into the vast region from Morocco to the Red Sea for a strong, persistent attack on Islam under conditions the most extraordinarily favourable, and from there gradually across the Sahara to the Sudan, following up great channels of communications now opening up."

After years of unrest, the great powers of Europe have consented to France taking Central and Southern Morocco under its supervision, while Spain has been permitted to have control along the northern coast, and as far down west as Laraish. Moorish and Moslem misgovernment have only been tolerated for years past because the nominally Christian powers were jealous of each other. Now, if they have not come to agreement, they have at any rate, withdrawn their opposition to one another. The result of this is that now, not only have Algeria, Tunis, and Egypt lost their independency, but in the last two years Morocco and Tripoli have been brought under European sway.

The lands comprised in North Africa are:—

Morocco, with an area of about 260,000 square miles (equal to five times the size of England), and a population estimated at 3,220,000. It is now governed by a Sultan who, though nominally chosen by the people, is under French control.

Algeria is the most advanced in civilization, having been held by the French since 1830. After great expense of life and money, it is now thoroughly subject to their rule. Its extent is about three times that of England, and its population 6,000,000, of which 4,175,000 are Moslems, the others being French, Spaniards, Italians, Jews, etc. The country has a good climate and much beautiful scenery; there are excellent roads and extensive railways.

Tunisia is under French protection, and practically under French rule. It is hardly as large as England. It has a population of about 2,000,000, about 1,660,000 of whom are Mohammedans. There are, however, some thousands of Maltese, French, Jews, etc., on the coast.

Tripoli, which was until lately a province of the Turkish Empire, is now under the control of Italy, though some inland tribes still maintain their independence. The effect of the Italian occupation is at present not very easy to estimate; it appears as though it would make Gospel work more easy than in the past. There is a population of about 1,350,000 who, with the exception of a few thousands, are followers of the False Prophet.

Egypt is still nominally tributary to Turkey, but is practically under the guidance and supervision of the British Government. It had in 1907 a population of over 11,287,000, of whom 10,269,000 were Moslems.

In Morocco, the "North Africa Mission" is carrying on work in Tangier. The town itself is steadily being Europeanised, and the field for Christian work is wide, as the population becomes increasingly mixed.

The Tulloch Memorial Hospital has done much to break down opposition, and there have been numerous cases of professed converts amongst the patients, but, alas! few have stood firmly amidst prejudice and opposition. Several of the Moslems have been baptised, as the result of the translation of Gospels into country dialects.

Missionary work was opened in Fez as long ago as 1888. After visiting it at intervals for a year or so, the North Africa Mission was enabled in that year to take up permanent work there. It is quite probable that if

men had attempted to begin the regular work they would not have been permitted to remain; but Moslems have a very low idea of women and their capabilities, and when Miss Herdman, Miss Copping and Miss I. L. Reed took up residence it was not thought that they could do much harm to the Mohammedan faith. Moreover, the pioneers came with kindness and medicine for the sick, and this softened the hearts of the people. The influence of the missionaries ever since has been very great, and the whole attitude of the city towards Europeans has been rendered more favourable by the benevolent work of past and present labourers there. Thus a measure of attention has been given to the Gospel of Christ, and some have forsaken the false prophet, and have become faithful disciples of the risen Saviour. It must be remembered that one of the greatest difficulties still remaining is that the Government being Mohammedan, the penalty of death pronounced upon any Moslem who adjures the faith, cannot as in India or Egypt be looked upon as a dead letter.

At Tetuan, work was opened in the following year. The Riffs, who live among the hills between Tetuan and Algiers, can speak Arabic. They probably number 200,000, and are the descendants of the old Riff pirates. Brave and fierce they are, and not easy to deal with, though warm-hearted, and when once their confidence has been won, they are less fanatical than the townsfolk.

One missionary reports that "This city at present is a scene of bustling activity, the natural outcome of an increasing European population. The motor car and cycle are common, and occasionally the flying machine can be seen overhead. The old easy days, so dear to the native, have passed away, and the sights and sounds characteristic of modern life have come to stay. We would like to think all this will prove beneficial to Morocco, and yet there is so little trace of God in it all at present, that we are compelled to face the fact that it has grave dangers."

Other Missions working in Morocco are:—

"Southern Morocco Mission" at Marakesh, Mazagan, Soffi, and Mogador.

"Central Morocco Mission" at Rebas. Dispensary and Hospital Work.

"British and Foreign Bible Society." General distribution of the Scriptures.

"Gospel Missionary Union" at Mequinez and Sifru.

"Echoes of Service Mission."

There is also the "Kansas Gospel Union," which has done useful work, translating part of the Scriptures into native languages.

Large numbers of Jews, that have settled from time to time in Morocco, have many of them been won over to Islam, and it is said that Moslems who were Jews originally, are much brighter, more intellectual and more successful in business than their fellow Moslems. The outcome of missionary work during the last thirty years has not been encouraging. The results at most of the mission stations have been the same, but the number of converts have averaged according to the standards set by the various missions. Brave men and women, the latter especially, as they constitute by far the larger proportion, have been labouring on in an apparently forlorn hope, steadily keeping the banner unfurled amid the most trying circumstances. There have been a few genuine converts who have given evidence of a change of heart and life with triumphant death, but invariably they have had a sudden and rather unexpected demise! As there is no such thing as religious liberty in Morocco, public confession of faith in Christ is almost impossible.

Very many of those who made a profession did so under a misconception as to the teaching and principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. As Islam never makes enquiries as to whether there has been a change of heart or not, so many of those professing converts never deemed that it was necessary there should be a renouncing of sin, but only the transferring of their affections to a particular prophet—Jesus Christ, beloved and honoured by Nabi Mohammed, which shows the principal reason why there have been so many spurious converts among the Moslems.

Spain is the only nation which has treaty rights with Morocco for the protection of the Catholic missionaries and their converts, and absolute liberty in the exercise

of their calling. Moslems who become Roman Catholics, although still remaining subjects of the Sultan of Morocco, enjoy all the rights and privileges of Spanish-born subjects.

In the midst of difficulties arising out of the scattered nature of the smaller existing missions, the testimony of several missionaries is, that Morocco requires an amalgamation, or federation, of these societies, so that they might present one united front to the forces of Islam, especially in joint effort for the circulation of the Gospels and Christian literature.

Under the new French régime many forms of social progress proceed energetically. The streets are being lit by electricity, parks are being laid out, the water supply is being improved, and greatly needed attention is being given to the insanitary condition of the houses and streets. Wireless telegraphy has been installed, and very soon the principal cities and towns will be linked up by railways. When Europe is thus helping towards the physical and social well-being of the people, it surely behoves us, more earnestly than ever, to press forward with our efforts for their evangelisation. Conditions are changing and becoming more hopeful. The general testimony is that closed doors, scowling faces, fanatical hatred, and threats of violence have been changed into open homes, friendship, confidence, and gratitude. The former conception of the "Nazara" as idolaters, and people guilty of all kinds of excess and wickedness, has been completely overturned, so far at least as the missionaries are concerned; and the people now recognise that the name of Jesus stands for love and sympathy, purity and goodness. They can and do trust the missionaries more fully than their nearest friends or neighbours. The Gospel is becoming known, and to some extent understood, all over the country. Its light has penetrated some hearts, and given the promise of higher and better things.

Of all the Barbary States, Algeria is by far the most advanced in civilisation and modern development. The inhabitants have had their religious character modified, to some extent, by coming into contact with French Roman-

ism and irreligion. Since 1911, there has been a steady advance in good feeling towards Protestant missions on the part of the French authorities, which coming after years of sullen unfriendliness and suspicion, is a great encouragement. The native Moslems also are showing more readiness in listening to the message of the missionaries.

Encouragement has been received at each of the four Stations of the N.A.M. At Djemma Sahridj, which was opened in 1881, it is reported there is a greater measure of separation from Moslem customs on the part of some of those who have professed Christ.

Mr. J. H. Smeeton, of the Algiers Mission Band, furnishes the following statistics taken from the latest Government Census :—

"The total population of Algeria is 6,006,000 ; of these, 747,000 are Europeans, 1,052,000 Berbers, Kabyles and other natives, and 3,207,000 Arabs. There are 22 towns with a population of over 10,000 ; 164 with populations between 5,000 and 10,000 ; 1,161 between 1,000 and 5,000 ; 287 between 500 and 1,000 ; and 500 hamlets under 500. Missionaries to the Arabs are situated in nine centres only, as follows : Algiers, Blida, Bona, Bougie, Cherchelle, Constantine, Miliana, Relizane and Tebessa, leaving 3,030 centres of population, with their 3,112,000 Arabs, unoccupied, and in the towns where the missionaries are situated the Arab population is barely touched, especially the men."

In Tebessa, it is recorded that Christianity was introduced soon after 150 A.D. Four bishops are said to have ruled over the Church, and Maximilian and Crispin suffered martyrdom in this place. Ancient heathenism gave place to Christianity, which in its turn, becoming corrupt, succumbed to Islam, and this has now given way governmentally to a nominal Christianity. May it yet be the centre of life and hope. All through Algeria there are now open doors. The restrictions which hampered missionaries years ago are largely removed.

The great need throughout the land seems to be that of colporteurs. The Bible Society has them in Algeria, but their work is limited to selling the Scriptures, and is largely among Europeans. There would be room for six

to twelve colporteur-evangelists alongside for distributing other literature and evangelising.

Miss Lilias I. Trotter, of the Algiers Mission Band, has been carrying on a brave work for many years, and her experience is valuable. She says: "The only point in which we, as a Band, touch the question of Islam is that it has been possible to open Touzer, a station at the south-west extremity of Tunisia, and centre of a large group of oases, and in its turn much linked with another large group five days' further on into the desert, called the Oued Sout. These desert towns, of which Touzer is the first to be opened, are the headquarters of the Moslem brotherhoods, which are, I believe, the chief *foci* of propaganda. The men are great readers, and accept willingly the tracts of the Nile Mission Press. This is the only way at present of reaching the Hinterland whence the advance on pagan lands is made."

"Moslem emissaries with religious literature from Constantinople are carrying on a campaign through the land with a view to stirring the Moslems to more activity and zeal. This is a new feature within the last year. The Church of Christ should arise with a countermove."

The work of the Algiers Mission Band is carried on at Algiers, Blida, Relizane, Miliana, Mascara and Oran.

The Methodist Episcopal Church are engaged in Algiers, and amongst the Kabyles, at Oran, Fort National, and at Constantine. At this latter place the Rev. Percy Smith has done a useful work in translating Bible Stories into simple Arabic rhymes, and the Baptist Church of France and Switzerland have founded a Mission, and are at present supporting two missionaries at Blida. This Mission has been at work two years, and is being greatly blessed by God. Work is being carried on among the Arab population of the City, and among the mountain dwellers in the villages of the Atlas.

The Regency of Tunis is the ancient Lubia. The Phoenicians are supposed to have occupied this region as far back as the fourteenth century before Christ—*i.e.*, 3,300 years ago. The Romans came in 146 B.C., the Vandals in 439 A.D., and the Arabs in 698 A.D. Since the end of the seventh century Mohammedanism has

prevailed in this country; but from May 12th, 1881, France has had political control over the Beyical Government. By the terms of the treaty then signed, the French occupation is to terminate when both French and Tunisian authorities recognise that the local Government is capable of maintaining order—a time that would seem to be somewhat remote.

It was in 1885 that the North Africa Mission began work in the City of Tunis. In 1890 Sfax was entered (there have been breaks in the occupation of this city); in 1895 work was started at Susa. Kairouan became a mission station in 1897, and Bizerta in 1898.

The influence of the "Young Turk" movement has been felt in Tunisia. Though the faith of the younger and more educated Moslems in their inelastic and antiquated ideas was shaken, the tendency was rather towards rationalism than towards faith in the Gospel. People became less bigoted, but more indifferent. The war in Tripoli next disturbed the native mind and stirred up a strong anti-European and anti-Christian sentiment. Then came the Turkish war, with its disasters for Islam. At first these disasters stirred afresh the fires of fanaticism, but later events have brought discredit on Islam. God's hand has seemed to the Moslem to be against him, and he has in a measure been forced to the conclusion that Islam is not altogether a success. This should make work among Moslems more easy, though we must recognise the fact that it is possible to lose faith in Islam's politics without abandoning its religious side. Still, on the whole, people are becoming more accessible. Such is the testimony of missionaries from this field.

Opened in 1885 the work in Tunis has gone on steadily. though the staff has been seriously undermanned. The numbers attending various services have fluctuated considerably, but the work on the whole, especially at the Bible Depôt, has been encouraging.

Kairouan was opened in 1897; Mohammedanism is more pronounced than in the seaport towns. It is, therefore, a more suitable spot for a missionary centre, as the more intelligent Moslems can be reached, and through them the religious leaders in other places.

Sfax, re-opened in 1905, is the second largest town in Tunisia. The first missionaries there, Dr. and Mrs. Leach, were murdered soon after arriving, but others have boldly followed in their steps.

Bizerta, opened in 1898, is an important French naval station and military post. A useful work had been carried on amongst the Arabs and soldiers, but this has been interfered with since the recent war in Tripoli.

Missionary work is also carried on by the "Methodist Episcopal Church" in Tunis, and the "Echoes of Service" in Sousse.

Tripoli, recently taken over by the Italians, has a population of about 1,365,000, mainly descendants of the Berber aborigines, with some mixture of Arabs. There was no constant work in Tripoli till the N. A. M. started in 1889. Since then the mission has steadily plodded on, notwithstanding the many difficulties.

It is said that there is greater readiness now, amongst the better educated, to enter into discussion about the Christian religion, and there have been apparently some sincere enquiries.

Under British supervision Egypt has wonderfully progressed, and shows signs of further development in the future. The country is decidedly prosperous. It is invariably found that worldly prosperity conduces to practical indifference to things spiritual. Besides the barrier of Moslem fanaticism, therefore, this difficulty has to be met by the Christian worker.*

In this ancient Moslem land a new spirit is being manifested. Old haughty indifference is giving way to a spirit of enquiry amongst the Moslems, and a more open investigation of Christianity and Islam.

* Egypt, the last and greatest of these Mohammedan countries, had a population in 1907 of 11,287,000, and by this time probably the figure reaches 12,000,000. Of this number about ninety-two per cent. (*i.e.*, 11,000,000 in round numbers) are computed to be Moslems; 600,000 of the nominal Christians belong to the ancient Coptic Church, and are themselves very much in need of being evangelised; about 50,000 are members of the Roman Catholic and Greek Churches respectively; and there are also some 25,000 Jews. It was computed in 1907 that only eight per cent. of the male population could read. Including the female half of the population, probably not more than four or five per cent. are readers.

This spirit of enquiry has led on one hand to more freedom for Gospel propaganda, but on the other it has engendered a more bitter attitude on the part of the extreme Moslems, not only towards Christian missionaries, but towards all of their compatriots who manifest an enquiring mind.

The native press is continually used to denounce missionary effort, to urge Moslem parents to remove their children from Christian schools, and to keep them away from hospital and dispensary. In a number of cases they have organised and opened opposition schools alongside the Christian in their endeavour to break up the latter. This to a certain extent has been successful in the early stages, and numbers of mission schools have had to face a diminution in their attendance.

A Missionary writes: "We have been forcibly reminded of the cost of a movement of the Spirit during the past month, and as I write we are in the thick of a fierce onslaught of the great enemy. S—— is the storm centre, and the work there is just now being subjected to a serious attack. It arose in this way: A young Moslem student in England got hold of a copy of a magazine, and wrote a long letter to a native Nationalist paper called *The People*, denouncing us as the enemies of Islam, quoting the success of the work in ——, and urging Moslem parents to remove their children from our Schools, to keep away from our Hospitals and Dispensaries, and generally to give us a wide berth. A leading article of three columns added further fuel to the fire, and, led by the Headmaster of a School opened right opposite us, the town has been considerably stirred up. Miss —— writes, 'Pray much for the work here. A great burst of opposition was opened against us last Saturday; the originator of the attack is the Headmaster of the School opposite to us, which was opened with the idea of closing ours. This man, when the articles appeared in *The People*, went at once to the Police Office, and sent the Chief of the Police to take away the boarders. ——, —— and —— were sent off, the former protesting strongly and pleading to be left here. They took them to the Police Court and asked them if they were Christians or Moslems, and the two elder girls remained quite firm in their declaration they were Christians. Of course the people are very angry, and the Headmaster is now directing his attacks on every parent in turn. The School has dropped in one week from ninety to fifty-five, but we praise God for fifty-five still remaining. How long they will stay we do not know.' Faith and prayer have, however, often triumphed in the end, and scholars have returned after a time, their parents realising that the Christian Schools provide a moral training that those of Islam lacked.

"The difficulties of Missionary educational work have been considerably enhanced by these efforts, and also by the opposition of the Government and Provincial Council Schools, where the Koran is taught, and the Bible excluded."

The work amongst adults is very encouraging in view of the more open spirit of enquiry, but the number of conversions does not materially increase. More open effort, however, has been made in several centres to reach the Moslems in evangelistic services. Notably was this the case in connection with the Tent Mission in Cairo last year, when there were most encouraging results. If the attendances were not large, there was apparently deep conviction of sin in the hearts of many, and men who would never have been suspected of attending a Christian service were found at these gatherings, and reached by the Spirit of God. Remarkable instances might be given, but in the present state of feeling it would only expose these timid followers to unnecessary ridicule and persecution.

The largest Society at work is the American Presbyterian Mission. In their college at Assiut, they record that "Special evangelistic services again formed a part of the college's organised effort to reach the souls of those of its students who have not yet yielded themselves to Christ. During the year fifty-one students from the college united with the church upon profession of faith. The college rejoices in the share it has been given in the direct evangelisation work of the mission. Does not such a record give us much promise that our students, as they go out from school, will have an increasingly large part in this most essential work of the church? The influence that the college may thus have indirectly in the evangelisation of Egypt is beyond the calculation of statistics."

When feeling was running high after the Turkish defeats, the American Presbyterian Mission reported that, "In many cases through Upper Egypt, especially at the time of their Bairam feast, the slightest pretext was seized to fall upon the Christians, beat them, rob, cheat, or otherwise maltreat them. But open resistance to the Gospel was more manifest in the Delta, where our missionaries were refused admission to town and houses, and no one would give them a place for a meeting for love or money. Officials did their best in places to hinder preaching services, and even requested the

missionaries to leave the town. In other towns they came to the meeting to interrupt the service, and to oppose the Gospel. Open insult was offered to the workers in the meetings and on the streets. Missiles were thrown at the workers and at their boat."

The Balkan war produced, especially in the Delta, a great bitterness against Christians; and when the missionaries attempted to teach, preach, and heal the sick among them, reports were often started that these people were in league with the Balkan Christians, who were warring with Islam. Consequently intense hatred towards the worker was exhibited, and open violence was prevented only by fear of British justice.

It seems to be generally felt amongst missionaries that the great hindrance to Moslem enquiry and open confession is fear for their reputation, their position, and their lives.

In many congregations, Mohammedans attend the service and mingle freely with the Christians. In one of the Middle Egypt Churches there is an open meeting for free discussion of the truth, where opinions are readily expressed by Moslems and others. Arguments are avoided as far as possible, and every effort made to arrive at an understanding of the Word of God.

In the street meetings conducted in quite a number of towns, Mohammedans are freely spoken to about Christ, such as in D——, where some of the brethren voluntarily went to visit some Mohammedans, and bore witness to Christ, though they knew that in so doing they were endangering their lives. In that same congregation, as well as in others, a day of fasting and prayer for Moslems was set apart and observed. As a result a better feeling of brotherly kindness has been manifested by the Christians, which was reciprocated in a more amicable disposition among Moslems toward the Christians. In another village a young man had been taken in and befriended by the Christians, whom he came to regard as his best friends. He came to the services, talked freely, and listened attentively to the Word. The Christians said, in his hearing, "He is no longer a Mohammedan, but a Christian at heart." And their

assertion was not denied. Sheikh B——, a government official, bought a Bible, read it, and then wanted to return it. The preacher said, "Keep it awhile and read it." This was done, and after some time the Sheikh said he would not sell the Bible, he could not do without it.

A very rich young Sheikh, whose father is a district judge and very influential, has accepted Christ as his Saviour, and is now preparing to sell what little land he has in his own name, leave his father's house, which he knows he will have to do as soon as his conversion is known, and witness for Christ. He became convinced of the truth of Christianity while a student in the Azhar, the Moslem University of Cairo. After studying the passage in the Koran, which speaks of the Jews as God's chosen people, and how he had blessed them above all nations of the earth, then the fact that the Christians had in the Gospel a completion of the Jewish Bible, and the fact that God had signally crowned them with loving favour, all this taken together was used by the Spirit to convince him that the Christians held the truth of God in the Gospel, and this became the subject of his study. A Christian young man in his town took him to his home and visited him frequently, and they became fast friends. They are reading and studying together at present, and the Christian is teaching the convert to pray, helping him to understand the things of God. There was a light in the eye, and a bright, happy smile on the face of the convert as of one who had found the pearl of great price. He is at present preparing a book on Islam and Christianity, comparing the two religions. The Christian young man told us that he had not ventured to mention religion to his Moslem friend for many months, and one day when he told him that he had been wanting to talk to him about Christ for a long time, the Moslem replied, "And I have been for some time expecting you to talk to me of Christ, for it is your duty to do so."

It is manifest in every direction that the Holy Spirit is working amongst the Moslems. Many educated young men and even religious leaders have lost their faith in the Koran, and are wildly groping in the darkness, searching for an anchor to their faith; their hopeless, helpless

condition, and their eagerness to know the truth, constitute a clarion call to the Christian Church.

The American Mission in the past gave a larger share of its attention to the Copts, hoping through them to reach the Moslems with the Gospel. They were not only more accessible, but their moral and spiritual need was scarcely less than that of the Moslems, and by reason of this fact they were the great stumbling-block to any effective effort for the latter class. Therefore, the mission regarded the regeneration of the Copts as the key to the larger problem of reaching the Moslems. If it seemed to become absorbed with this initial task, it was because it was found to be so vast and so vital to the whole problem.

The mission, however, has never lost sight of its ultimate aim and supreme task, and in recent years has taken a much larger part in the direct work for Moslems. The general enlightenment that has come to the Coptic Church, the raising up of a large body of evangelical workers who are feeling increasingly their debt to their Moslem brothers, the greatly increased interest and responsiveness among Moslems themselves, coupled with a general decadence even among the "faithful" of strict adherence to Islamic standards and practices, these and other facts have led the mission to feel that the time has come for focusing its efforts upon the supreme task of missions in Egypt—Islam.

The mission laid a broad and deep foundation for its work among all classes by its system of Christian schools, now numbering some two hundred, and extending from Alexandria two thousand miles to the south. These schools have always been attended by a large percentage of Mohammedans, and their influence in the removal of prejudice, in direct Christian teaching and in the training of valuable workers, cannot be computed. There has grown up also a native evangelical church having 98 native pastors, 509 Sunday school teachers, 83 colporteurs and workers among women, 76 native organised congregations with a membership of 11,464, and representing a Protestant community of

over 33,000. This native church is one of the vital forces for the evangelisation of Egypt.

One of the most striking features of the development of missionary propaganda is through the distribution of literature. The Nile Mission Press, established by Miss Van Sommer a few years ago, has become a recognised, well-appreciated institution by all the societies at work not only in Egypt but North Africa, and other distant Moslem spheres. With the advance of education a demand for literature increases, and the success that has attended this press has furnished ample proof that the Christian propaganda is not limited to the human voice, but the message of salvation can be carried to distant spots where no missionary has yet reached, as well as proving a means of education and enlightenment to the thousands in close proximity to missionary effort, but who would never be found in actual contact.

Mr. H. Hayes, of the Egypt General Mission, writes: "The native converts are being tempted by the subtle emissaries of El-Azhar. Literature has taken an envenomed style, and is seeking to stain the 'unstainable' with suggestions so base that the legal authorities have been compelled to suppress it; warnings are being circulated broadcast against mission schools, hospitals and literature, and those who can look out with wider vision can see that the time is coming when the final conflict will result in victory for those who fight beneath the shadow of the Cross."

Islam is admittedly on the defensive, that is to say that its modern movements are admitted to be, by their own leaders, acts of defence. Mr. George Swan, editor of *Beshair-es-Salaam*, says: "In the Society for training Moslem missionaries, the Bible is a regular text book with a view to countering the Christian attack from the pages of their own book. The President of that school edits a monthly review, in which one writer ransacks higher-criticism, textual-criticism, and rationalism (of the sort familiar to the working man's club), to find material wherewith to attack the Scriptures. And this, not because he believes in the arguments he uses, but because he seeks to retaliate the Christian attack on the Koran

by similar *soi disant* methods. In doing this he has given vent to the vilest abominations that could only find source in a mind already polluted by Islam. These articles have from time to time been gathered together, and published in book form. It is only fair to say that when Lord Kitchener's attention was called to one of them, he was so shocked that he had orders issued for the immediate suppression and destruction of the book wherever found. Then a Moslem bookseller has an organised gang for interrupting evangelistic meetings to Moslems, and the dissemination of tracts got up in the same style as Christian tracts, entitled 'The Love of Christ,' which are merely a compilation of what one might call the unitarian and humanitarian texts of the New Testament, ignoring their contexts and all verses on the other side, and then attacking the missionaries for misrepresenting Christ. This was circulated throughout the country by tens of thousands, the money being found by an old Coptic notable who had become a Moslem for a title, and in the hopes of receiving a higher one."

"Four years ago there was a Moslem Conference at Heliopolis, at which, amongst other things, considerable time was given to the consideration of how to counteract the work of the missionaries; a special and very influential committee was formed, with the then Prime Minister at the head, to see that the suggestions of the conference were carried out, and the rival schools, hospitals, and orphanages, are a direct outcome of this, together with the financing of other methods of opposition."

There is another direction in which the influence and power of Islam are being seriously felt, and that is in the increasing defections from among the Copts to Islam. It may be accounted for by the greater prosperity of the country having the usual effect of making the people careless about religion, and, therefore, ready to exchange it for the advantage of facilitated divorce, the marriage with a Muslima, or financial gain.

Notwithstanding all the difficulties, there is cause for thankfulness at the progress of Christian effort, even in the centre of "Islam" itself. The societies engaged in

Egypt are: The American Presbyterian Mission, The Church Missionary Society, Egypt General Mission, Sudan Pioneer Missions, North Africa Mission, Canadian Holiness, Dutch Mission, Pentecost Mission, Pentecostal Bands, with the B.F.B.S., and the American B.S., and the S.S.U. The total number of missionaries being 284, of whom the large majority—202—are women, and only 82 men. A similar proportion will be found throughout the missions working in North Africa.

In Morocco, 49 women to 17 men. In Algeria, 66 women to 26 men. In Tunis, 25 women to 14 men. In Tripoli, 2 women to 2 men.

Is not this a strong summons to *men* of education and ability to volunteer for these needy fields?

The national crisis in which our country is faced with a life and death struggle on behalf of freedom and civilisation, has called forth a marvellous response of the young manhood of our Home land and Dominions over Sea. It is a token of the strength and vigour of the British Empire. Is there not, however, as noble, and even a nobler fight on behalf of the Kingdom of our God still to be waged along the northern litoral of the Dark Continent? The figures given above are a sure indication of the response of our sisters to the claims of this part of the Moslem world. Shall the response of our brothers, men of education and ability, of linguistic gifts and evangelistic talents, be less generous, less wholehearted? May we not plead for a noble army who will join the advanced guard in a new Crusade for the Christ of Calvary and Gethsemane. The finest talents would receive the fullest opportunity for development—the warmest hearts would find the brightest sphere for consecrated loyalty to Christ. How long, O Lord, shall these lands languish in Moslem degradation? How long before the Cross shall win in love the victims of the Crescent?

WM. J. W. ROOME.

Belfast.

IS ISLAM IMPREGNABLE?

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EVER since the World's Conference on Islam, held in Cairo in 1906, the Christian Churches have shown an increasing interest in the effort to evangelise the votaries of Islam. New missions have been created, and the older missionaries in Moslem lands have opened new stations and set apart some of the best men they have for this special service. Institutions have been established in Britain and Germany and in America for the teaching of the Arabic language and the preparation of missionaries for this work.

The question has been asked, Why has this work been so long delayed? In reply, it may be said that missionaries have been sent to Moslem lands almost since the beginning of the modern Foreign Missionary enterprise. Many things stood in their way. First, Christendom had lost its interest in missions, and was occupied in endless controversy on questions pertaining to Christian doctrine and policy; the non-Christian world was apparently shut in behind doors and bars or against Christian nations. The death penalty confronted the Christian man who should set foot upon a heathen shore.

By and by the doors were opened in the nearer East, and missionaries were sent to Syria, Turkey and Persia. The work naturally lay with the more or less corrupt Christian churches in those lands. This was especially necessary, because the chief stumbling block to the Moslem was these oriental churches of all names. Islam was never confronted by a pure Christianity until the nineteenth century. It was, therefore, most important to create truly Christian witnesses and Christian assem-

blies of true believers in order that the Gospel might be brought to the Mohammedan world in power.

This preparatory work has to some extent been done, and along with it has been the conversion of a number of noble witnesses among the Moslems themselves to show that even to these the Gospel of Christ is "the power of God unto salvation." This work has convinced the Christian churches that the neglect of the heathen in the centuries gone by forms one of the darkest blots upon the pages of the churches' history. That work has resulted not only in creating among Christians an attitude of indifference to the fate of the heathen, but has led the heathen world, and especially the Moslem world, to assume an attitude of contempt for the faith of the Christian.

When, therefore, the missionary spirit laid hold upon a Carey, a Henry Martyn, a Morrison, a Caan or a Judson, the mass of Christian laity and clergy alike were ready to denounce the foreign missionary as a fanatic or a fool. Nor has the lapse of time and the marvellous success of these men entirely eradicated this spirit. The majority of nominal Christian men, while perhaps commending the humanitarian side of the missionary's life and labour, yet regard his endeavour to proselytise men and women as a foolish endeavour, if not absolutely contemptible. And then as for the unbelieving among nominal Christians, they have no use for the missionary whatever. They may admire the man, but will frankly say, as one said the other day, "I like you, but for your work I have no interest whatever."

Such being the present conditions of many Christians in western Churches, what wonder that men are ready to listen to the confident assertion of non-Christian orientals or of nominal Christian Europeans, who have lived for years in eastern lands, that missions are a failure, and that the effort to Christianise Moslems is an idle dream. Such men are often, indeed, quite blind as to what the missionaries have done or of what they may be doing at the present time.

The *New York Times* in its Sunday issue, February 1st, devotes a whole page to an account of a series of

lectures of Professor Christian Snouk Hurgronge, who has spent thirty-five years in the Dutch East Indies, and whose lectures on Islam in America assure the American people that the conversion of Islam to Christianity is as hopeless as the question of converting the Jews.

If he is correctly reported, even this comparison is not without encouragement to the missionary to Moslems. The history of the church shows that notwithstanding the national unbelief of the Jews, there has been a constant stream of Jewish converts to the Christian ranks, and that there are more converts to-day than ever before. We have only to read the roll of the Protestant ministry to see how many have brought to the Christian churches the faith and devotion of the Hebrew teacher.

If we examine the literature of the Christian church we are surprised to see the contribution of profound works on history, theology, and philosophy from Jewish pens. So, too, when we examine the membership roll of many churches in India, Persia, Syria and Turkey, we thank God for those who have come out from Moslem circles to become members of the Christian church. Again, when we read the roll of the ministry here in India, we are glad to recognise the many names indicating Moslem descent. Islam is contributing to the Christian community an annual increment, small indeed, but large enough to belie the claim that a Moslem can never become a Christian.

Professor Hurgronge, while positive in his opinion that Islam will never yield to Christianity, might have maintained that Islam in the Dutch Indies has yielded some thirty thousand converts to the Christian faith. He admits that Islam is bound to undergo many changes when it comes more fully under the influence of modern Western civilisation. He forsees the concessions which will oblige the abolition of the veil and the restoration to modern Moslem womanhood the rights which Christian women exercise. He sees a modern spirit of liberty already invading the Moslem mind. Surely all this is very encouraging. The question naturally arises as to the source from which this powerful solvent of Moslem

bigotry proceeds. Is this not due to the Spirit of God, who through the Christian church has given to the world a civilisation which strikes off the shackles of the slave, brings help to the oppressed and healing to the sick and dying ? Do we not see non-Christian peoples, long segregated, now boldly and gladly incorporating into their ancient systems of moral, social and political governments, the teaching of Christian nations ?

What is it that differentiates between old and new Japan, old and new China, old and new Turkey ? What is it that has already increased the value of the individual in all these lands ? What has infused the desire for female education ? Whence the growing interest in social service ? Surely the leaven of the Gospel is leavening the mass of humanity, the many earnest endeavours to reform non-Christian faiths are characterised without exception by the adaptation of their faiths to the Christian ideals. New wine is being poured into old bottles, with the result that the old are destroyed. Islam is no exception to this rule. Many a Moslem convert has testified to the fact that a sincere endeavour to find the ideals of the Gospel in the Koran had resulted in failure, and that he then found himself confronted with the alternative of becoming a Christian or of adopting an atheistic stand while upholding the social system of his fathers.

Christian men frequently lose faith in the work of missions to Moslems and Hindus and Buddhists by reason of their want of faith in God. They look at the difficulties which confront the missionary. Like the ten unbelieving spies whom Moses sent to spy out and report upon the inhabitants of Canaan, their vision of the promised land was obscured by the sight of mighty men and their impregnable defences. The faith of Joshua and Caleb was strong and confident because they had God within their vision, and, therefore, saw the crumbling walls and stricken giants and conquered Canaan, and themselves in possession of the promised land.

This illustration fits in exactly with the Christian endeavour to conquer the world. They have gone forth with the great commission, " Go ye into all the world

and disciple all nations." They hear the command, "Preach, baptise and teach"; but alas! how often do they forget the promise, "Lo, I am with you always." Many are discouraged and are unable to go on, solely because they realise that in mere human strength they cannot overcome. Others, trusting in Him who has all power in heaven and earth, go on in the faith of Joshua, and they "do the impossible."

The missionary problems are being solved in this way. All failures are due to unbelief. All success is due to the power of God through the Holy Spirit operating through faithful men.

The Moslem world is just beginning to realise the powerful influences which are pressing upon Islam in all parts of the world. The power of the Hierarchy has been broken. The power of the Sultan with his death sentence for all apostates and for the Christian who would dare to convert a Moslem to his faith, has been weakened. The mass of the Moslem peoples are enjoying the liberty of their Christian rulers. Many are using this freedom to investigate for themselves, and are losing their faith, or some at least are finding a better faith in sacred scriptures so constantly attested by the Koran as the Word of God. When the Moslem peoples have secured religious freedom and have acquired that knowledge of the Koran which will enable them readily to compare its teaching with that of the Bible, we shall see a rapid defection from a faith which has held them in spiritual bondage for so long.

The many converts from Islam in various Moslem lands, small indeed in contrast with the 200,000,000 Moslems in the world, are nevertheless an earnest of what shall be. The character of Moslems as we know them after forty-six years experience, assures me that they will not be satisfied to live for ever in subjection to teachings of Muytohiden of centuries gone by. The independence of mind, which has led the mass of educated Moslems away from the Koran, tradition, agnosticism and infidelity, will yet, under Christian influences, lead them to Christ as their Saviour.

Ludhiana,
India.

E. M. WHERRY.

MISSIONS AMONG THE MOSLEMS OF JAVA*

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Java has an area of 130,544 square kilometres (four times as large as the Netherlands), and with its population of thirty millions is the most important of all Dutch possessions. On the west of the Island live the Soendanese, in the centre the real Javanese, and in the east an immigrant race from the neighbouring Madoera Islands.

Each of these races, however closely related, has its own language and history. It is evident, both from the legends of the people and the archæological remains and inscriptions, that even at the beginning of the Christian era the inhabitants of Java had attained to a considerable degree of civilisation.

About the year 100 A.D. the influence of India began to be felt in Java, first that of Hinduism, and later of Buddhism. At the beginning of the fifteenth century Islam reached the coast, also by way of India, and by the close of the century Java had become practically Moslem.

It has been proposed to call the religion of Java "Javanism," because it did not seem correct to consider the population Moslems in the true sense of the word. Since acknowledging, however, that Islam everywhere admits pagan elements in its system, one cannot help counting its millions as Moslems, in spite of the animistic, Hindu and Buddhist elements that persist in the life of the people. We must add that Islam is penetrating deeper into the life of its followers. The many pilgrims returning from Mecca (in 1911, 25,260 from the Dutch East Indies) are not, as has sometimes been alleged, all Moslem missionaries, nevertheless they strengthen Islam by their political aspirations.

* [Translated and abbreviated from the Dutch.—Ed.]

The Dutch Government is strictly neutral as regards all religious movements in Islam, but is energetically opposed to political movements.

In the religious life of the Javanese, the so-called *ngelmoe* plays an important part. The word is a corruption of the Arabic word *'ilm*, and is considered in Java as synonymous with magic.

The Javanese trust implicitly in the effect of *ngelmoe*, and many of them pursue the knowledge of it all their lives. It is imparted by the *goeroe* to his *moerids* or disciples. The disciple, however, is not freed from his master after he has learned. A magical bond unites them perpetually.

Frequent disputes on points of theology take place between these *goeroes*, and the one who is overcome becomes the disciple of the victor in the dispute. To separate a Javanese from his *goeroe* is an impossibility. Here also we notice influences from India. In their disputes logic holds a small place, but etymology and curious coincidences are considered arguments. In these public disputes, the one who can argue the longest is generally the one who wins.

Missions in Java began by voluntary workers, and not by qualified missionaries sent out by regular societies. In the charter of the United Dutch East India Company, mention was made concerning the spread of the reformed religion. Nevertheless, missions were not carried on because of Moslem fanaticism. The results were limited to some feeble efforts at Batavia, and the founding of a Christian Church by one of the Government officials, Cornelis Chasteleyn, who died in 1714.

The Dutch Missionary Society (Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap), founded in 1797, sent out three missionaries to Java in 1814, one of whom, Brückner, translated the New Testament, but the Government forbade its circulation. The other missionaries were sent to the Molukka Islands, and, while they were waiting, J. Kam founded a christian society at Soerabaia, known afterwards as " The Circle of the Pious."

Among those who belonged to it was a German clockmaker, called Embde. This man had heard that

perpetual summer reigned in Java, and in his literal Bible interpretation of Genesis viii. 22, he could not believe it. He, therefore, had gone out to Java to investigate ; nor did he lose his faith in God's Word, but began to evangelise ! His methods were not always very rational. He had no idea of the psychology of the Javanese. The language used in his tracts for them was strange, even for the very few who were able to read. The results of his work were limited to the servant class among Europeans, half caste women and their children.

Among the converts was a man named C. Coolen, the son of a Russian father and a Javanese mother. He was more of a Javanese than a European, both in appearance, ideals and sympathies. This became very evident when he settled in the vicinity of Soerabaia in 1828, and began the cultivation of some waste land and attempted to evangelise his workmen.

Of imposing personality, and mingling the dress and bearing of the European with that of the native, his authority and financial position enabled him to exercise a strong influence on those around him ; this was due also to his knowledge and tact, his stern uprightness and unselfishness of conduct, and his thorough knowledge of the colloquial. He soon became the owner of a considerable plantation, was the leader of a Javanese orchestra, as well as in the popular sports of the Javanese. He shared with the people in all their national tastes, and was, therefore, peculiarly qualified to hold the attention of a native audience. When Sunday came he would conduct the services dressed in clerical garb. The whole congregation arose when he entered, and the church full of people chanted the creed to a Javanese melody. After prayer he would preach sermons, generally from the Old Testament, with interesting practical, although peculiar, exegesis. At the close of the service the whole congregation used to follow him to his house, and there a sort of private theatrical, *wajang*, was shown, Coolen using this method to draw parallels between the heroes of Javanese folk-lore and those of Holy Writ. This exhibition often lasted the whole day, and the congregation was entertained with refreshments, etc.

It did not take long before the whole community began to speak about this leader of Ngara, who proclaimed a new *ngelmoe*. They began to teach each other the fundamentals of the new religion, namely, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed.

There is no doubt that Coolen himself was not unconscious of the fact that the people interpreted his teaching in this Javanese way, nor, perhaps, of the dangers latent in these methods of evangelism. His entire work was of a temporary character. He never thought of forming churches, although a social tie bound the people together to his estate. There was no use of the Sacraments. At first he included them, afterwards he opposed them. No evangelisation was carried out into the neighbouring districts. Coolen knew too well that the Javanese themselves would spread his doctrine because of their fondness for religious discussion. His greatest fault, however, was in the moral sphere. Here he allowed himself liberties contrary to the Gospel. His wife having refused to follow him inland from the coast, he lived with more than one Javanese native woman. It is typical of the oriental mind that his influence on this account did not decrease, his other good qualities overbalancing this lapse in public opinion.

It is clear that Coolen, not only in his morals but in his entire conception of evangelisation, departed greatly from the opinions held by "The Circle of the Pious," to whom he owed his conversion. Among them there was a hearty, although narrow, type of vital Christianity; among them the Gospel was not liberated from its European dress. There were no concessions to the Javanese mind. The converted Javanese were expected to assume European garments, to cut their hair in European style, etc. Coolen made the Gospel so Javanese, that in doing so he excluded some of its fundamental elements. Embde and his followers erred in the other extreme, and made no distinction between form and substance in their preaching.

Conflict between these two methods did not at first arise, because of the long distance between Soerabaia

and Ngara, but it was inevitable. At Wijoeng, a little village near Soerabaia, lived a Moslem Sheikh named Paq-Dasimah, who ever since he had received a translation of the Gospel had meditated on the question, How God could have a son (Mark i. 1). Some of the followers of Coolen gave him fragments of the Creed, which he tried to combine with the Gospel story. In this way he and his followers came in contact with Coolen's Mission. It is remarkable that when Coolen referred him to Embde, who lived so much nearer to him, his advice was not accepted. He much preferred the instructions of a half-native. Providentially, he met one of the servants of Embde at a village market, and when these brethren-in-Christ heard of the group at Wijoeng, they received them with enthusiasm. Questions of race or caste did not perplex them. Paq-Dasimah and his followers were invited by Embde to sit at his own table, and as their knowledge of the Gospel was very considerable, the Dutch workers were surprised that these Christians had not been baptized.

After some hesitation, the ministers of the State Church at Soerabaia baptized thirty-five Javanese publicly on December 12th, 1843. On the 25th December, 1844, there was a second baptismal service of fifty-seven Javanese.

Coolen was not pleased with these events, and although he was persuaded afterwards of the importance of baptism, he was much offended when certain of the baptised Christians in their European dress appeared at his services. Some of his disciples began work in neighbouring districts, and his teaching spread widely, especially through his strong personality and his accommodation to native thought and life in his preaching.

A missionary once told me that if the Dutch Government had taken a more friendly attitude instead of being afraid of fanaticism, in his opinion the whole of the three Residences—Kediri, Soerabaia, and Pasoeroean—with a population of seven million souls, would have been Christianised! I cannot vouch for the accuracy of this statement, but it is certain that a movement towards Christianity had begun under the leadership of one who

was more than half Javanese, and was being propagated by the Javanese themselves.

The existence of Javanese Christians finally overcame the prejudice of the Government, and they permitted missionaries to reside in Java. In 1848 E. Jellesma came from the Island of Ceram, where he had been sent in 1843 by the Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap.

When Jellesma applied to be sent as a missionary, his timidity was one of the reasons urged against him, but this timidity of manner and great gentleness proved to be the very cause of his popularity among the Javanese. The boldness, loudness and self-assertion of the average European do not appeal to the Javanese. Of Jellesma they undoubtedly said among themselves, " Here at last we have a respectable Hollander."

Nor was he without intellectual gifts and spiritual power, as his work afterwards indicated.

Stationed between the fields of Embde and Coolen, his task was not an easy one. He obtained permission, however, from the Government, to go into the interior, and in 1851 he established a Christian village by building bamboo houses at *Madja-warna*. Jellesma understood the importance of this method. It has often been asserted that missions should seek for the centres of populations and trade. Our experience teaches the contrary. The natives who live in these trade centres are no longer real natives. They have become Europeanised, and, for a large part, denationalised. If we desire to establish a national self-propagating church, then we must seek the native where he is still native and out of touch with so-called European culture.

Jellesma understood this thoroughly. He knew how to work in harmony with native leaders, allowing them to follow their own methods to a large extent, and to remain Javanese. Later, a training school was opened. Men were trained who understood the Gospel and were of great service to the mission, but propagandists of the type found in the early days are rare. It is questionable whether this course of events could have been avoided. In proportion as the Javanese understands the Gospel better, he separates himself from the spiritual life and

thought of his people. But European leaders must continue to learn from their pupils and help them to build up a Christian theology in Javanese thought, being on their guard lest they translate European ideas into Javanese words merely, rather than into Javanese thought. Their logic is different from ours. Arguments which appeal to us have no strength with them. Our theology is too largely determined by the controversies through which it has come. On the mission field the whole position calls for different lines of action, and will also come to its own. Only when we bear this in mind will the Javanese Christians be fitted to evangelise their own people.

In these remarks on the education and training of native preachers we have anticipated the history of missions in Java.

A crisis followed the earliest effort of missions, of which we have spoken. The number of workers sent out was comparatively large, but the influence in the Netherlands of another theology, altogether radical in its tendency, was detrimental to the spiritual life of the missionaries. Others had to return for reasons of health, and the result was that the number of missionaries in East Java was much smaller than it should have been for the task in hand.

The rumour of Coolen's work spread far beyond his own settlement. In the residencies of Kediri, Soerabaia and Pasoeroean, and even in the residencey of Madioen to the west, Christian groups were formed.

The Netherlands Society sent out its missionaries, and they succeeded in winning the confidence of the people. They also made a careful study of the intellectual and spiritual condition of the people, and established a most valuable periodical with this special aim, entitled "Mededeelingen van wege het N. Z. G.", which has now reached its fifty-eighth annual volume.

The method of work followed, which calls for special attention, is that of the Christian *dessa* or community settlement. The opening of these settlements was not due primarily to the missionaries. The initiative came from the people themselves.

At present the missions are generally agreed that the progress and strength of native Christian life is furthered by this method more than by any other. The communion of faith strengthens the social bond, and the social bond helps forward the spiritual interest.

The fear has been expressed lest in this way the Christians should separate themselves too much from their Moslem neighbours, but this fear is groundless, as the population is so dense and there does not exist a single *dessa* exclusively composed of Christian inhabitants. Moslems live with the Christians, although under certain conditions, and intercourse between them and the Moslem population is constant. The spiritual and moral condition of these congregations is generally good. The greatest difficulty is the lack of independence on the part of the native, but it is most encouraging that apostacy back to Islam very seldom occurs among the converts.

I may here mention the peculiar method of exercising discipline. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is only given when the congregation ask for it, which occurs with considerable regularity. When the request is made the missionary has a severe task before him. He has a personal interview with each of the Church members, with the result that those who are not judged fit to come to the Table of the Lord remain away of their own accord. To be forbidden the Sacrament by a missionary would not be considered as discipline, but as a sufficient excuse for absence!

Our chief difficulty remains that the Javanese Christian Church shows too little real missionary spirit. However, in the year 1913 eighty-two Moslems were admitted into church fellowship, and in the previous year one hundred and sixty-one.

In spite of the criticisms which we have passed on the methods of Embde and Coolen, one cannot deny that in later years European influence was often too strong in missionary effort, and too little room was left for that which was typically Javanese, and, therefore, the initiative of the native church was not developed. It is naturally difficult to find the golden medium.

Without European direction and control at the outset

(as we see in what follows), Christianity is in danger of becoming simply a new element in Javanese syncretism. More and more the conviction is gaining ground, however, among the missionaries, that in all propagandism among Moslems they must keep themselves in the background, and in the words of that Nestor among our missionaries, J. Kryut, " Be as the mainspring of a watch, invisible but indispensable."

Among the Europeans who engaged independenly in missionary work we must mention Mr. F. L. Anthing, a high native official, who died in 1883 at the age of sixty-three. From his youth he was a decided Christian, and, beginning at Semarang in 1863, he did considerable work for the spread of the Gospel among the native population by supporting helpers trained by himself. At one time their number was fifty-seven. His work was fruitful in results.

In the central province of Java the work of a hermit, named Toenggoel-Woeloeng, deserves special attention. He was a typical Javanese *goeroe.* He came in contact with native Christians, and having found one day a copy of the Ten Commandments under his mat, he believed that it was a supernatural call. Later he heard a voice from heaven advising him to go to *Madja-pahit* and hear the truth. Here he found Jellesma and was baptised as a Christian. Later he preached the Gospel, but not under missionary supervision, establishing a *dessa* in the Residency of *Djapara.* The syncretism of his teaching, however, alienated the sympathy of the missionaries. When he died in 1885 he had over one thousand disciples who were proud of their Christian name, but whose Christianity was more or less of the type of their *goeroe.*

The results of the work of another native leader, Sadrach, were much greater. Before his conversion he followed the teaching of various Mohammedan *goeroes.* He first learned of Christianity through the missionaries, but afterwards came under the influence of Toenggoel-Woeloeng, travelled through Java, especially on the east coast, and was baptised at Batavia in 1867. Two years later he established himself at Poerworedjo and began the work of evangelisation. By his education

and strong personality he became a leader of all those who now call themselves "*Kristen djawa*" (Javanese Christians), in contrast to those converts who followed the European missionaries and bore the name of "*Kristen blanda*" (Holland Christians). These latter numbered, at that time, about six thousand.*

The preaching of Sadrach undoubtedly contained more Christian elements than that of his predecessor, but in some respects his teaching also, and especially his desire for the honour of a *goeroe* toward his disciples, does not seem compatible with true Christianity. The accusations made that he receives money from his converts and that he is a rich man, are untrue, but his attitude shows undoubtedly the lack of thorough Christian training.

Since 1862 the Reformed Church Mission (Gereformeerde Zend. Ver.) has worked in this district. Their missionaries tried to influence Sadrach and his circle, but the results were not satisfactory. The attempts made to separate the followers of Sadrach from their *goeroe* were vain. Sadrach turned from the missionaries to a circle of Irvingites at Batavia, and was appointed Apostle by them. The relations between him and the Reformed Church Mission were, therefore, broken.

It is impossible to fortell the future. At present the influence of Sadrach is still dominant, but he is an old man. Among his followers there are many from whom much good may be expected. All of them value most highly the name "Christian." This fact, and the clear insight now obtaining in mission circles regarding these native movements, promises much for the future.

If their expectations are not realised it will not be because of lack of energy on the part of the Reformed Churches. These churches lay great emphasis on the autonomy of the local congregation. Some of them since 1834, but the majority since 1886, are independent of the old State Church. They number, in the Netherlands, about five hundred thousand members.†

* The statistics now given of 24,000 native Christians in Java do not include the followers of Sadrach and Toenggoel-Woeloeng.

† The Government for a long time opposed the work among Moslems, but the Churches of Holland did not cease their efforts.

The various mission stations in Java are fairly well distributed. Although most of the Dutch societies are labouring exclusively on this island, there has been comity in the division of territory. On the other hand, the location of the various stations has not been altogether systematic, nor have the societies concentrated their efforts where the results were the greatest and the prospects most alluring.

Apart from the followers of Sadrach, no other mass movement towards Christianity has taken place. We cannot tell, however, how soon this may happen again, and the part of wisdom is to follow a policy of distribution of forces, rather than of concentration, so that we may reap the results of any favourable movement anywhere.

At present, all the missions in Java are decidedly evangelistic in character. The native churches are supervised by the Javanese, or by European assistants not ordained. Every year scores, and sometimes hundreds of Moslems are added to the church. Every congregation has its own pastor or teacher, who is at the same time a director of the school. There are five schools for the training of mission teachers. Those who show special ability receive a two years' course in theology preparatory to future ordination.

It seems to me that some of the societies have spent too much of their strength in sending out missionaries where more attention should have been given to the training of native workers.

At present, seven societies are at work. Two have already been mentioned. In 1851 the Dutch Baptist Missionary Society (*Doopsgezinde*) began work at Djapara. About the same time a Christian lady, residing in Java, began work at Salatiga, assisted by some helpers granted by the missionaries. When she returned to the Netherlands in 1857 she left behind her fifty baptised converts. In 1884 the Salatiga Mission was organised on a faith basis and continued her work. The west coast of Java is the field of the *Ned. Zendingsvereeniging*, founded in 1858, and they have been successful enough in this difficult field to establish a number of small churches among the Soendanese. Recently they have begun work among the agricultural population inland.

When Mr. Anthing died in 1883, the nine congregations, with about seven hundred and fifty members under his charge, were transferred to the last-named society. The Java-Comité has its work in the extreme East of Java since 1879.

In 1905 the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church began work on the island. It is unfortunate, however, that this society did not consult the other societies before beginning its work, for which undoubtedly there is room enough in Java.*

To complete the list of societies and agencies I must mention the Salvation Army, which works among Indo-Europeans, and also the seminary established at Depok, near Batavia, in 1873, for the training of native preachers.

Concerning the prospects of mission work in Java, nothing can be said with certainty. It is possible that there may be movements towards Christianity in the near future, and that the missions may be able to influence Sadrach's community. At present there are no immediate signs of this, however, but there is not the least reason for discouragement. The opportunities are greater than ever. Java also is feeling the influence of the intellectual movements that are sweeping over the East. Not only the higher classes, but the middle classes, are seized with a desire to adopt European culture. The Government is trying to meet this demand, although its schools are naturally without religious instruction, and Christian missions are facing this new opportunity. A committee has been formed consisting of representatives of all the societies for the establishment of schools. Nine have already been opened, with a total of four hundred and four pupils, and receive a subsidy from the Government.

Some are afraid that this movement will awaken Moslem opposition and fanaticism, but the chief danger is that the taking over of western civilisation without its assimilation will be detrimental to the national life of the people. In that case, we may only expect a reaction, with the tendency, to use a German proverb, of "Throwing out the baby with the bath-water." In

* See Miss Elizabeth Harper-Brooks' pamphlet, entitled "Java and its Challenge," and the Dutch criticisms in their magazines.

other words, the re-action may be anti-Christian as well as anti-European. In view of this danger, the missions encourage education, but urge that it should be of such a character as shall give the Javanese culture suitable for them, and not in conflict with the best characteristics of the people. It is especially urged that the preaching of the Gospel shall be free from European forms and leave room for a real Javanese Christianity.

Another important method undoubtedly would be the increase of Christian hospitals. At present there are five mission hospitals on a large scale, properly staffed, and a number of smaller ones. The provision made by the Government for medical assistance is altogether inadequate. The subsidies given by the Government, therefore, to mission hospitals are large, and are enough to cover three-fourths of all expenses. This certainly is a golden opportunity to establish work which will offer a vivid illustration to the Javanese of the real character of Christianity and its message of mercy. It is unfortunate that so few Christian physicians offer themselves for this task.

Although educational and medical work are only indirectly evangelistic, they are not, however, in any sense fruitless. In work among Moslems someone has rightly said that "we need a type of self-denial which utterly disregards all visible results."

Meanwhile, missions continue their steady progress in Java. Islam is a world religion which would never have exercised such a great influence were it not for the elements of truth it possesses. These elements have not always been recognised by Christians themselves; I do not say by Christianity. One thing is certain, that when the Mohammedan peoples shall have been brought to Christ, we shall understand something more of that "fulness of the Godhead which dwells in Christ bodily." Our work among them will prepare us to expect in all humility that day of triumph.

Rotterdam. J. W. GUNNING.

NOTES ON CURRENT TOPICS

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A Passion for Souls.

A missionary in India utters words of weight when he calls attention to the need of a greater passion for souls on the part of every worker among Moslems. "The Apostle Paul, thinking of the condition of the Jews, said, 'I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart. For I could wish that I myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren's sake, my kinsmen according to the flesh.'" Severed from Christ and devoted to destruction, as Weymouth says. What a wish! All through his letters it is evident that Paul had the greatest passion for souls. He could make any sacrifice if only the Jews would turn to Him who loved them and gave His life for their redemption. He felt he could even pray to be separated from the Church, the perfecting of which was the great purpose of his life, and be banished for ever from his Lord, if by that means his own people could be brought into harmony with God. What a passion! Myers in his poem puts it thus :—

> Then with a rush the intolerable craving
> Shivers through me like a trumpet call,
> Oh, to save these! to perish for their saving,
> Die for their life, be offered for them all!

Being Dead He Yet Speaketh.

William W. Borden, who died at Cairo in May, 1913, while preparing for work among the Moslems of China, left behind him so large a legacy of inspiration and Christian character that his memory is not only blessed, but a blessing. We hear from Cheefoo, North China, "Thanks to the kind arrangement of the friend who was responsible for the publication of the Borden Memorial Booklet (Special Edition for Moslems) a second impression is now on the way, and will, we trust, be greatly blessed to the Chinese Moslems. The adaptation and translation was done by Rev. F. W. Baller, and the testimony to the Lord Jesus Christ, as 'The Saviour of the World,' is made in a most faithful and winning manner. Thirty thousand copies are being now printed in Shanghai, and as applications for twenty-five thousand are waiting to be filled, this second edition will soon be widely scattered."

Chinese Moslems.

The increased interest in the Moslems of China and their needs is shown by a series of articles which are appearing from week to week in *The National Review*, by James Hutson, entitled "The Chinese Moslem Standpoint." No student of Islam in China can afford to neglect their perusal. According to this writer, the competition between Islam and Christianity has not yet expressed itself very acutely, but there is little doubt that before long it will be felt, and the leaders of missionary propaganda will have to consider not only the influence of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, but the aggres-

sive activity of this faith. There is a remarkable modernist movement also among the Moslems in China. Their literature is more abundant than is commonly supposed. Among other things Mr. Hutson gives the Moslem's own interpretation of the term "Hui-hui." It is well to remember that the articles give the technical terms in Chinese character as well as in English.

"Now as to the term *Hui-hui*. What is the meaning of this term? It is simply this: We sojourn as pilgrims between the heavens and the earth; the days of our pilgrimage pass like a shadow, and are of short duration, and, therefore, the affections of the heart ought always to dwell near and never depart from foundation principles. Although the body is called to dwell on earth the heart has in reality returned to heaven, and when the believer's work on earth is finished he will get the final call to return to Reality or Truth; and thus, though the body is said to be dwelling on earth, it has in reality returned to its own place. Not only so, but the Illimitable includes all mystery in itself, whose purity is the great central truth for all souls, whilst the Absolute includes all visible forms, ceremonies and life, and is the great governing principle in all visible things. Upright followers of the pure and true religion obey the plain decrees of the Lord, and follow the true traditions handed down by His Prophet, which enable the body to return to the purity of the Absolute while the soul or disposition returns to the mystery of the Illimitable, to be perfected into orthodox beings, able to ascend into heaven and pass through its portals into the presence of the true Lord, and receive from Him His boundless reward. This is the meaning of the term *Hui-hui*."

Twenty Years' Work in Chinese Turkestan.

The forgotten corners of the mission field and the lonely outposts are witnesses to-day of a heroism and a persistent endeavour worthy of the early missionary apostles. From a most interesting article by Wilhelm Sjöholm, Secretary of the Swedish Missionary Society, in *Dawn in Central Asia*, we give our readers the following paragraphs:—

"Turkestan has no communications with the rest of the world except by mountain roads, very difficult of access, where one can only travel on horseback or by foot. The roads lead across high mountain passes which can be crossed only with great difficulty. The mountains are said to be rich with ore, and different varieties of precious stones. Several of the larger cities have a population of more than 100,000, and the city of Kashgar with surroundings has 250,000 inhabitants.

"It is in this out-of-the-way corner of the world that the Swedish Missionary Society has been carrying on missionary operations since 1892.

"In July, 1894, the missionaries, L. E. Högberg, Mrs. Sigrid Högberg, a Bible-woman, Anna Nyström, and a Persian, Dr. Josef Mässror, arrived at Kaschgar, and missionary work proper began with their arrival.

"During the first years the mission had incredible difficulties to fight. If the missionaries had come as merchants or explorers they would have been received in quite a different manner, but they were heralds of a new religion. The fanatical Mohammedans were exasperated, and even the Chinese authorities also at that time were averse. They made everything quite impossible, and what was most deplorable was that the Russian Consul at that time encouraged the opposition. He told the Chinese that the trunks of the missionaries

were full of weapons and ammunition, and to the Mohammedans he said that the missionaries were religion-thieves. The missionaries were hardly permitted to rent a house. For a long time they had to live in a garden, and several times regular riots took place. Furious crowds stormed the place where the missionaries lived, and started to pull down the houses, but in all these straits the Lord came with His help at the right moment.

"The missionaries succeeded not only in keeping their place in Turkestan, but also in gaining the confidence of the people. In recent years we have seen some touching proofs of confidence of the people in the missionaries who were formerly so distrusted. When they buy something in the markets or the bazaars, the seller seldom counts the money that the missionary gives him, and when reminded thereof and told to count it, he says, 'We need not count what you give us; it is always right!'

"The medical work has been a priceless means of gaining the confidence of the people. The medical work not only pays its own cost, excluding missionaries' salaries, but gives yearly a considerable overplus for the other work. The erection of the lately built mission station in Yengi Hessar was entirely defrayed by the overplus from the hospital in Kashgar.

"When the greatest opposition had died out, and the people began to feel more friendly disposed towards the missionaries, it was possible to begin school work. The want of books prevented this work from developing at first. To-day there are some very well attended schools in Kashgar, Hancheng and Yarkand. In November last school work was taken up in Yengi Hessar, so that has only just begun. The older schools have gained a very good reputation among the people. Some old mullahs assert that the children in the mission schools learn as much in two years as they themselves learnt in eight years in the Mohammedan schools. The want of school books is being relieved, as the Mission has now started its printing press.

"The literary work is something that had to be taken up very early in a country like this. Johannes Avetaranian started this work. He translated the whole New Testament, which, however, was afterwards revised by the missionaries, G. Raquette and L. E. Högberg. Only the four Gospels are as yet printed, of which more than 8,000 copies have already been circulated. The rest of the New Testament also will soon be printed. The cost of this printing has been defrayed by the British and Foreign Bible Society in London. The grammar of Kashgar-Turkish, which was begun by Magnus Bäcklund, has been finished by G. Raquette. It has been printed in Germany, and at the cost of the Germans. Raquette has also edited a small hymn-book and a primer. Bäcklund translated in his time the Biblical history by Fr. Lundgren. In the latest years the missionary, Oscar Andersson, has devoted his time to the translation of the Old Testament, and the writings of school books upon geography, biology, arithmetic, etc.

"Closely connected with the literary work is the printing work. The Mission has for two years now had at the station in Kashgar a fairly complete printing press. Hitherto they have chiefly printed tracts and the smaller school books. At present a larger edition of the Biblical history, a geography, and an arithmetic book are on hand. There are plans for starting at the end of this year the editing of a bi-monthly journal in Turki for the whole province. There has never been anything like this before, and the Swedish Mission Press is the only one in the whole country.

"The Swedish Missionary Society has at present four head stations in Chinese Turkestan, with four schools, three hospitals, a printing press and twenty-two missionaries. The nearest place where English missionary work is carried on is Urumtsi, in the eastern part of the province. One solitary missionary, belonging to the China Inland Mission, has been living there for some years. The city is situated twenty-five days' journey from Kashgar. When the Swedish Mission next has an opportunity to enlarge its work, a station will (D.V.) be erected in the old mighty city of Khotan, situated eight days' journey further south-east from Yarkand, towards Tibet."

Yarkand as a Moslem Centre.

Yarkand is the principal city of the chief oasis in Chinese Turkestan. Miss Emily G. Kemp gives the readers of the new monthly, *The Chinese Review*, Vol. i., No. 1 (London), a glimpse of this part of the unknown world of Islam in Central Asia. "The city has a population of 100,000, and is surrounded for many miles by well-cultivated fields and beautiful groves of trees. As we approached we were delighted to see what appeared to be a thoroughly Chinese walled city. Its walls are from thirty to forty feet in height, and are of equal thickness at the base, while even the top is sixteen feet wide, and forms a fine walk, four miles in extent, with a parapet on each side. At intervals the walls are surmounted by square towers, and a fosse (from fifteen to twenty feet in depth) runs round the city. Imposing gateways are approached by a covered way from other gateways in the parapet, not opposite to them, and there is space between them for defence. Within the city we came to another big gate shutting off one part from another, more especially the Chinese quarter, in which is situated the large yamen where the Amban resides, who is the chief magistrate. One misses the handsome temples with their quaintly decorated roofs, but Yarkand is a thoroughly Mohammedan city, and there were no evidences of the Chinese religions to be seen at all.

"The day after we reached Yarkand was the feast at the conclusion of the long fast of Ramadan. My servant Habib was a Mohammedan, and, on account of the toilsome journey from Tibet, was not bound to observe the fast, but was extremely anxious to keep the feast, so we were up betimes and escorted by Mullah Sabit to the great mosque. Many thousands of men (but no women) were seated on every spare inch of ground, and thousands were outside or in other mosques. A space had been reserved for us, and seats on a special carpet, whence I was able to sketch, having duly made enquiry lest I should hurt their feelings, and been told there was no objection to my drawing. It was an impressive scene: the vast crowd rising, then sitting, then swaying in unison, as the leader, from a kind of pulpit, led the prayers. Between the prayers Mullah Sabit gave me scraps of information, and at the close he was surrounded by numbers of friends shaking hands and stroking beards. Towards the close of the ceremony a coffin was borne through the swaying multitude with willow branches and a turban on it, and apparently prayer was said for the deceased."

Increasing Liberty in Persia.

A C.M.S. missionary, who recently returned to Persia after an absence of six years, notes distinct improvement, especially in the matter of religious freedom. "The effect of this increased freedom of the subject on the religious opinions of the people is very evident.

Formerly our converts were chiefly from the poorer classes, who had nothing to lose in this world by an acceptance of Christianity. Our inquirers were from those to whom the Gospel in all ages has been preached. We still rejoice in the regular addition to the Church of many of our poorer brethren and sisters ; but it is a token of freedom of thought and conscience that now we are being approached by men of independent position, asking earnestly to be taught."

"The Strangling of Persia."

What educated Moslems think of British and Russian diplomacy in Persia is clear from this editorial in *The Comrade* (Calcutta) for July 4th, 1914 :—

"Take Persia—a weak country, inhabited, according to the Imperialist philosophy, by an 'inferior' race. Clearly it was a fit object for the civilising mission of Europe. The people of Persia might not like it, but they could not be the best judges of their own needs. The two Great Powers of Europe, Russia and Great Britain, flanked Persia respectively on the north and the south, and they possessed vast 'interests' within the country. They recognised their obvious duty and individually heard its insistent call. But they had their own mutual jealousies and suspicions which hampered them at every step. The safest method for them was to make a solemn pact between themselves and forthwith set about to work. England had enough Imperial 'burdens' already on hand and was not particularly anxious to add another, but Russia's missionary zeal to uplift a fallen race was boundless, and fresh outlets were needed for such beneficent energy. The famous Anglo-Russian Convention was framed in due course on the basis of the doctrine of Compensation, and was cast in the most approved and up-to-date style of Imperialist phraseology. Persia's integrity and independence were guaranteed in the most emphatic terms. Both the Great Powers righteously bound themselves in the hearing of the world to keep a fair ring and let the Persians proceed calmly and confidently with the work of their national reconstruction. As the *Times* puts it, the Convention gave Persia 'a chance to rehabilitate herself—free from the apprehension of excessive interference from without.' At least this was the ostensible aim of the Anglo-Russian understanding. It looked as if a great moral act had come to birth when the great Convention was signed. Every cynic was confounded by the spectacle of two chivalrous and powerful States of Europe, constituting themselves as the guardian angels of an ancient people struggling to be free.

"Such was the Convention and such the hopes that were supposed to have moved its authors. But the fates—or the agents of the Muscovite diplomacy—have been busy spinning secret threads, and the history of the working of this Convention for the past seven years has been a mine of amusement to the cynics. Incidentally it has wrought the utter undoing of Persia. The Convention is practically dead, and the *Times* has at last pronounced its funeral oration. No one can, of course, expect the *Times*, which has become to all intents and purposes a Russian mouthpiece, to denounce this discredited diplomatic instrument. It still talks of its more 'exalted' purpose and 'infinitely greater issues' than the mere preservation of Persia. But it finds it just now expedient to state that 'the Convention, we fear, has brought no tangible benefit to Persia.' The *Times*' sudden anxiety about law and order in the neutral zone has some occult relation with Persian oil. What it desires, in plain fact, is that Persia should be divided

again in such a way that the neutral zone, which almost entirely contains the oil tract, should fall within the British sphere of influence. All pretence about Persian integrity and independence should be dropped. Russia should be openly allowed to have a free hand in Northern Persia, and the Protectorate that she has virtually established there should be formally recognised. In return for this recognition the neutral zone, at least in greater part, should be taken in the British sphere. This is the pith of the 'crisis' that, we are assured, is imminent in Persian affairs."

New Forces in Old Arabia.

The Rev. James Cantine, D.D., the pioneer missionary of Eastern Arabia, gives a most interesting survey of the present conditions in the peninsula :—

"Will we ever see a Twentieth Century Arabia ? Or will there be Turkish, British and German protectorates here and there—protecting not the Arabs, but the interests of the European Governments. Time will tell. But there are no indications that, as regards its integrity, Arabia will fare better than Persia.

"The Ottoman Government, if it would give proportionate representation and control to each of its many races, would occupy the best vantage ground. But it is selfishly and hopelessly Turkish ; and here in Arabia the Turk and Arab will have to settle their age-long rivalry unless, as seems probable, it is settled for them by outside parties. The average Arab, if he has to choose between what he considers two evils, will prefer the English Government to the Turkish. England, with this eventuality in view, is constantly strengthening her stakes in different parts of the country, and her policy will more and more have to be reckoned with by us who do business in her 'sphere of influence.' And if the issue is once raised England will not be able to refuse responsibility, as she is now doing in southern Persia.

"Arabia is being influenced as never before by the forces of commerce and trade. The Twentieth Century, with rail and steamer, is piercing and crossing the last remaining banks and bars ; and soon Arabia, that great eddy in the stream of the world's progress, will find itself being carried rapidly along to the consummation of God's purpose. In north-eastern Arabia the most superficial observer can easily note the growth during the past few years. The great irrigation schemes, inaugurated in the Mesopotamian valley, the linking up by rail of the Persian Gulf with the Mediterranean, the Bosphorus and the Black Sea, the decided increase in size and number of the ocean steamers making Busrah their terminus, the immense oil fields on its border already being exploited by modern methods and capital—all these were but nebulous hopes a decade ago, and make us wonder what is in store for the great regions still unexplored.

"Socially, the forces at work are those acting in all the world. We have here only space to note the growing tendency to approve and, without doubt, soon to use customs of distinctively Christian origin. Monogamy, equality of the sexes, schools for girls, and various so-called handmaids of Christianity, are beginning to be pressed into the service of Islam.

"Religiously, any change in Arabia from within seems to the observer scarcely within the bonds of possibility. Whatever Islam may have lately brought forth in India, it is true that in Arabia it remains as it has been for centuries. No intellectual activity, no religious unrest will ever move the Arab *en masse* to modify his faith. His only hope is in direct missionary effort from without."

The Mecca Pilgrimage in 1913-14.

Considerable adverse criticism has appeared in the Moslem press of India on the report of the British Vice Consul at Jiddah regarding the dangers of the pilgrim journey to Mecca. But Dr. Abd-ur-Rahman is himself a Moslem, and has done splendid service in helping the sick at Jiddah hospital, and his words carry weight. The report shows that the total number of Indian and Afghan pilgrims was 13,400. He describes the heavy mortality that occurs among the pilgrims at Mecca and Medina owing to the contaminated state of the water supply and the generally insanitary conditions, and says that if pious Moslems contributed funds to overcome these defects most of the diseases prevalent in Mecca could be stamped out. He deals with the stranding of pilgrims at Jiddah on the return journey to India, and describes the shipowner's ring to keep up the fare rates. For one steamer only were a few hundred tickets sold for prices varying from Rs. 30 to Rs. 15, and a few at Rs. 10. But these cheaper tickets were used almost entirely by the pilgrim guides for themselves or for their touts, who go every year to India in large numbers, to induce pilgrims to perform the Haj. The number of destitute Indians repatriated free of charge was 1,227. The report points out that there are no funds which will suffice to provide passages annually to such a large number of pauper pilgrims, especially as that number is increasing every year, and he is convinced that a system of compulsory return tickets is the only possible solution of this difficulty. He urges Indian Moslems to overcome their objections to return tickets and to the so-called monopoly. He argues in detail to show these objections are ill-founded, and says a monopoly in Bombay, giving a regular steam service, is not so hard as the prevalent arrangement of the shipping ring in Jiddah.

Dr. Abd-ur-Rahman states that Mecca was infected with cholera from the outset, and although it is impossible to estimate the total mortality even approximately, from 800 to 1,000 are known to have died in one day alone, and this death-rate continued for a week. Dr. Rahman believes that many of the thousands of deaths that occur in Mecca every year can be prevented by more care and forethought being taken. The report says that if Indian Moslems decided to come to Arabia, they must do so without any idea save that of the resolute performance of their religious duty, in pursuance of which they must be ready to face certain hardships, and not unlikely death.

Medical Work in East Africa.

Were it possible to sum up in figures the amount of work done in mission hospitals from Tangiers to Teheran, and from Morocco to Singapore, in its out-reach to Moslem homes and hearts, the sum total would convince even the most sceptical. We have received a report of the medical work for one year at a single mission hospital, smaller than most mission hospitals, and in a place of comparatively small population. Dr. Paul W. Harrison sums up the work of the year at Bahrein as follows :—

" With malaria for a background, the work has been of all sorts, with the principal emphasis on general surgery. Statistics are as follows :—

Dispensary patients	...	Men 3,700.	Women 1,678.	
Total dispensary treatments		,, 9,000.	,, 3,225.	
Hospital In-patients	...	,, 220.	,, 95.	
Operations : Major 148, Minor 59, Eye 295. Total 502."				

Not every medical missionary attempts a classification of his spiritual clinic in these terms :—

"Among various things tried in dealing with the in-patients, the effects of three particular teachings were especially noted. First, Christ's teaching as to the necessity of a new birth. This was usually received with the same monotonous acquiescence as everything else, but at least twice it really seemed to startle the attention as a new and tremendous doctrine, and once certainly to the degree of a sincere anxiety to discover how to obtain such a new birth.

"It was hoped that Christ's teaching of the believer's complete salvation and freedom from all fear of 'the fire,' 'Judgment,' etc., would prove a startling and attractive truth, but in this we were disappointed. Only once in the course of the year, and then to a feeble degree, did it seem to impress the hearer.

"The teaching which seemed to meet most frequently a need that the Arab felt, the one truth that his heart seemed to thirst for, was the teaching of the mystical union between Christ and the believer, as we find it taught in John vi., John xv., etc. It was a considerable surprise to find that the materialistic Arab is so appealed to on this aspect of the truth. We hope that another year's experiences may show us very much more about the way that it should be presented. The year's work has served to re-emphasise the greatness of the doctor's opportunity, and his need, above all things, of feeling in his own heart the things he tries to teach."

No Future for Mohammedanism.

A writer in *Life and Work* (Church of Scotland), October, 1914, who has spent ten years in Africa, says :—

"Here, where I am writing (Fort Johnston), at the south end of Lake Nyasa, is the stronghold of Mohammedanism in the country. And all I have seen here confirms my belief that it has no future, except where it expresses a largely justifiable opposition to Europeanism in general. As an organisation it is in decay. The schools are few and poorly attended, and Mohammedan law and custom make no headway against heathenism. All over Africa, I believe, it amalgamates with heathenism ; here the amalgam is almost purely the baser metal. It is still the fashion, and will be for at least another generation, to show by dress and the use of Swahili words that one is a Mohammedan. There would be a real danger of its becoming the black man's religion if any worldly advantage were to accompany its profession. That advantage is in Nyasaland held by our Missions. Even here, among the twenty best-paid natives in the place in European employment, I doubt if there are two who have not been Mission-trained—and not one of them is native to this district. That, of course, is a dangerous fact. Children go and are sent to Mission schools, not because they want to learn about Jesus, but because they want to get on in the world. In my view that isn't wrong, and it is only dangerous when unrecognised. And, after all, the Churches in African Missions influence the general life more efficaciously than in Europe. I don't mean that they do it all over Africa. Most of the continent is untouched. But where Christianity gets a real footing, everything is changed—houses, dress, speech, marriage, burial—even to the crops in the fields."

Turkish Womanhood.

THE handsomely illustrated *Women's World*, published weekly at Constantinople, recently had this plea for liberty and higher ideals, in which we rejoice :—

" Everybody knows how very far from any worthy ideal of what family life ought to be our social life has been. The young bride's fond hopes, her bright dreams of what her future is to be, how soon and how rudely have they often been shattered. She has soon discovered how hopeless was her slavery, or, if that is better, that she was but her husband's toy, to be thrown aside so soon as the toy no longer pleases. She has learned both to fear her husband and to cultivate the arts which put off the day of her divorce. Love, in any true sense, is a stranger in our homes. Respect, companionship, are outside of our experience. Yet we have the ambition to do what only women can, to perpetuate and increase in physical numbers and strength the race to which we belong. It is not enough for us to be content with that. That is not the happiness to which we have the right, and the duty to aspire and to claim. Much less may we content ourselves with that selfish languor so often found in the harems of the rich. We have no right to expect others to make us happy while we do not unselfishly gird ourselves to make others happy and worthy of their place as our life's chief aim. The fault is not in our stars, but in ourselves, if we fail of attaining true happiness. Our men are seeing more clearly to-day than ever before that the welfare and success of our people in the coming years depend very greatly upon us, the mothers and the daughters of our race. Emancipation, education, elevation, intellectually and morally—this is to be our cherished desire, our purpose. The question is not, ' Who will make us happy ? ' but ' How can we be most useful to our people and our fatherland ? ' "

A Moslem Philanthropist.

It is good to learn from one of our Indian exchanges (*United India and Native States*) of a Moslem whose broad sympathies and use of a large fortune are exemplary :—

" The merchant prince and philanthropist, Mr. Abdul Karim Abdul Shakur Jamal, whose name is a household word in Burma, is a native of India, born in 1862 in Kathiawar. Mr. Jamal went to Burma early in life and received his education in Rangoon. While yet a young man he was admitted as a partner in his father's firm, and when the latter retired from business in 1882 Mr. Jamal undertook the sole management of the gigantic concern. The firm of A. S. Jamal Bros. and Co. was then dealing in piece goods and silk, but subsequently the scope of the firm was greatly extended, and the Company began trading extensively in cotton, paddy, petroleum, ground nuts, etc. Mr. Jamal was, in a sense, the pioneer of industry in Burma, for besides starting two rice mills he was also instrumental in introducing an oil mill and two large ginning factories and oil mills for crushing oil out of ground nuts. Mr. Jamal traded largely in petroleum. Through his exertions the Indo-Burma Petroleum Company was started with a capital of a crore of rupees, held in equal shares by Jamal Bros. and Steel Bros.

" We have spoken of Mr. Jamal as a merchant, but we will now turn to his career as a public benefactor and a philanthropist, serving his fellow men. Mr. Jamal's benefactions have been on a princely scale, quite in keeping with his reputation. We are told that the promotion of education has been the ruling passion of Mr. Jamal, and

' he has been spending several lakhs of rupees in this direction without making the least noise.' The Anglo-Vernacular School at Jamnagar has been maintained for several years at an annual cost of Rs. 30,000, and at this institution 1,500 pupils, boys as well as girls, are under instruction. Mohammedans in India were gratified some years ago by Mr. Jamal's donation of Rs. 50,000 in aid of the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh.

" *The Comrade* mentions that Mr. Jamal has quite recently subscribed Rs. 20,000 towards a charitable dispensary at Jamnagar. Mr. Jamal is an enlightened Mussalman of the new school whose activities are of the most varied kind. He is a merchant, a philanthropist, an educational enthusiast, a generous supporter of female education, life trustee of the Aligarh College, Vice-President of the All India Moslem League, and President of the Burma Moslem League. Through Mr. Jamal's exertions the Indo-Burma Association was started not long ago for the purpose of promoting friendly feelings between the people of India and Burma."

Islam in Malabar.

From the Basel Mission Report we learn the following facts regarding the present activity of the Mopla Moslems in this part of Southern India : " At Manathala last year cholera was raging and people were dying by the hundreds. Malayalam-speaking converts to Mohammedanism carried on a most successful propaganda of their faith during this time of misery. Mopla men and women went to the houses of their neighbours, and praised conversion to Islam as the only and sure means of escaping the dire disease. And whole families embraced Islam, and this in spite of the fact that two-thirds of those who were carried off by the disease were Moplas. These Moplas of Malabar seem to be one of the most active Mohammedan missionary forces, and their influence is felt throughout Malabar and Kanara. At Ponnani, one of their chief centres in Malabar, last year alone about 600 Hindus and a few Roman Catholics went over to the Moplas ; how many in the whole of Malabar and Kanara were won over to Islam we cannot say, but we think that every year several thousands of the lower classes of Hindus are turned into Moplas. There has been much writing about the advance of Mohammedanism in Africa, and Christendom has been asked to stay it, but we doubt whether there are many parts of the globe where Islam is progressing faster than in Malabar. It is not for us to say whether this be desirable in the interests of the religious and social progress of the country. Those who know the Moplas will form their own opinion. It will have been sufficient for us to have drawn the attention of those interested in mission work and social service to this remarkable, and, perhaps, not sufficiently well-known fact."

Armageddon in Europe.

At the outbreak of the European war *The Comrade* of Delhi gave the summary of the situation in the following paragraph, which is interesting, as showing educated Moslem opinion in India at that stage :

" Europe is on the brink of the Armageddon, with which its pacifists and its prophets have for generations been threatening the world. Austria Hungary has declared war on Servia, and, according to an unconfirmed message, Belgrade is already in Austrian occupation. Russia, as the patron of the Serbs, is in no mood to see her protégé humiliated to the dust, and has ordered the general mobilisation of her

Army. Austria has issued a similar order, and Germany, her brilliant second, has followed suit. France and England are making breathless military and naval preparations. Diplomatic conversations, initiated by Sir Edward Grey with a view to localise the area of conflict, seem to have practically failed. Bourses in the principal European capitals have been closed, business has been disorganised, general panic is already producing acute crisis in the money markets of the world, continental communications have been suspended, and amid martial law and frantic popular excitement, huge armies are concentrating for battle. Only a miracle can save Europe from a terrific struggle that would bring world-wide devastation and ruin in its train, and may possibly end by destroying all the fruits of European civilisation. The outlook has never been so forbidding, and there is little hope now that European diplomacy will be able to save Europe from the catastrophe of a general war. Those who have striven to create the existing balance of power in the relations of the European States, are primarily responsible for the nemesis that threatens to overwhelm Europe. The crisis now in existence was bound to come sooner or later. Artificial checks and impromptu devices cannot permanently stave off the force of the economic laws or abiding moral principles. The States of Europe have individually sown wind throughout the world in the name of race and nationalism, and they must reap the whirlwind. The tragic murder of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand has only supplied the match which may set the powder-magazine ablaze. We need not attempt to speculate about probable developments. No one can be certain of what may happen next moment. The whole world is waiting in acute suspense, for issues at stake are such as have seldom been known in history. If the war becomes general and all the great Powers of Europe are involved, the world is sure to witness strange mutations and changes. The horror and misery that it would entail is almost unthinkable. The Power that shapes the ends of this world is all good, all beneficient, and can it not be that even a catastrophe of such magnitude may in some inscrutable way prove to be a blessing in disguise ? The latest messages show that Germany has declared war on Russia and France, and Italy has declared her neutrality. The titanic struggle has at last come over Europe, and no one can venture to estimate its consequences."

The Bible in Java.

From the British and Foreign Bible Society's report of its Malayan Agency (Singapore, 1914), we learn that at the close of 1912 there had been an increase of nearly a hundred per cent. in Bible sales over the previous year. Java, with its population of 33,000,000, does not contain more than 3,000,000 who can read, but the outlook is splendid. Everywhere new schools are springing up. Mr. Williams reports :—

"The value of the sales in Java is greatly increased when it is remembered that ninety-eight per cent. of the sales are to Mohammedans ; but only those who have worked as Christian missionaries in Moslem lands can fully realise what that means. But even better is the knowledge that many of these Mohammedan people who buy a portion of the Bible subsequently return to our colporteurs and purchase a Testament or other parts of the Bible. 'A little leaven, leaveneth the whole lump,' and we are certain that these silent messengers are working in the lives and homes of Java's millions, and are already bearing fruit unto Life Eternal. Less than a month ago I stood

on the wharf at Tanjong Priok and watched 1,600 Javanese returning from the pilgrimage to Mecca, and these people scattering through the towns and villages of their native land, in nearly every instance become missionaries to Islam. . . .

" One hears from time to time criticisms of our work, more especially as regards the work amongst Mohammedans. Such critics generally say that the Malays and Javanese do not want our books, and only buy them for their pretty covers. To deal with these criticisms, and also to give information to those who have the welfare of the Moslems at heart, I will deal with both these matters, taking the last first, as it is the simpler to deal with. All our Malay and Javanese books are bound in thin covers of common grey paper, useless for any other purpose, and worth only a fraction of the price charged for the books. In reply to the former, I would quote the following figures of our sales for the past three years of Malay and Javanese books, almost all of which were bought by Moslems :

	1911.	1912.	1913.
Malay Arabic sales ...	10,709	13,500	17,230
Malay Roman	10,011	11,223	15,930
Javanese	14,155	26,499	40,947

" If the Mohammedans do not want our books, how is it that they purchase them in increasing quantities every year ? I am more inclined to believe that a man who has bought one book and read it, goes and tells his friends what a treasure he has found, with the result that they buy for themselves, while he buys several other portions next time he sees a colporteur.

" His conscience convicts him of sin, and in the Gospel he learns of a Saviour who died for his sin in order that he might be forgiven, while in the Koran he only learns of Mohammed who required forgiveness of his own sins. Naturally he wishes to learn more about Christ."

News for Java by Way of Cairo.

In Al Azhar University there is a group of some twenty to thirty Javanese students, most of them belonging to the old school of Islam, but some of them with higher education. It appears that one of these Javanese students is acting as special correspondent for a Malay paper, published twice a week in the Javanese and Malay languages.

The Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem.

The Archbishop of Canterbury has formally accepted the resignation of Bishop G. F. Popham Blyth, who has since 1887 been the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem. After consultation with the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London, the Archbishop has invited the Rev. Rennie MacInnes, M.A., secretary of the C.M.S. Egypt Mission and Honorary Canon of St. George's Cathedral, Jerusalem, to be Bishop Blyth's successor. He is a son of the late Mr. Miles MacInnes, a prominent Evangelical layman, and brother of the Rev. John MacInnes, an honorary assistant in the Secretariat at the Church Missionary House. He is an old Harrovian and a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge. He also was at Ridley Hall, Cambridge, when Dr. Moule was its principal, and was curate at St. Matthew's, Bayswater, when the Rev. E. A. Stuart, now Canon of Canterbury, was Vicar. He joined the Egypt Mission in 1899 as an honorary missionary. His catholicity of spirit has earned the confidence and esteem of the Coptic Church leaders, and his many personal and administrative gifts have no less endeared him to the missionaries.

A New Church in Line.

The General Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States (German) assembled in Lancaster last May, voted that the Board of Foreign Missions be authorised to open a mission somewhere within bounds of the Mohammedan world. This decision has brought great satisfaction to many who have been praying and hoping that such action would be taken. In pursuance of its plans, the Board is taking steps to secure men and means for opening a station probably in Southern Persia or Western Arabia. Study classes on the Moslem world as a problem are being organised, and special circles of prayer are bringing this Church into line with other denominations, in the work of winning the world of Islam to Jesus Christ.

TOPICS FOR INTERCESSION

This number of our quarterly suggests a variety of subjects that call for prayer and intercession. The winning of the Moslem world is a spiritual conflict. We must advance on our knees.

The all-absorbing topic in Christian prayer is still the war and its issues ; nor can we forget to pray for its victims and all those who suffer from its horrors. The possible effects of this war on Moslem hearts and in Moslem lands must be laid before God. He alone can work good out of evil and make the wrath of men to praise Him. Whatever changes may result regarding the colonial occupation of Africa, the dead weight of Islam and its peril throughout the whole of the Dark Continent, are evident from the articles in this number. Let us pray for its arrest and for all missions among tribes that are still pagan. We may praise God for the results of missionary work in Java, and the work of the continental societies in this great field must not be forgotten in prayer. Finally the contents of this number and the times in which we live are a call to prayer for the spirit of heroism and sacrifice. How much has been offered on the altar of patriotism by friend and foe in this terrible conflict ! Will the Church sacrifice in like measure for the extension of *her* boundaries, for the maintenance of *her* rights, and for the establishment of a Kingdom of permanent peace ?

BOOK REVIEWS

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Mohammed et la Fin du Monde, Etude Critique sur l'Islam Primitif. Par PAUL CASANOVA. 2mo.; fascicule. Paris Librairie, Paul Geuthner. 1913. 80 pp.

This is the first supplementary volume of notes to the main volume which appeared in 1912 and was reviewed in these pages (vol. iii., page 202). We were told to expect two such fascicules, but seeing that this first includes notes on the first seven pages only of the work, we may perhaps expect more. The author's theory is briefly to the effect that Mohammed never contemplated the possibility of his own death, but believed the Last Day to be imminent (see previous review), and that the apparent divergence of the Koran from this view is due to the fact that we have not got Mohammed's Koran at all, but only one gravely tampered with and edited.

It is this latter point that is developed in an essay that forms the bulk of the volume before us. The author examines critically the familiar traditions referring to the recensions of the Koran under Abu Bakr and 'Uthman, adding other pieces of evidence that are not so familiar, notably the letter of Al Kindi, the Christian apologist. The conclusion is, that tradition has vastly over-estimated whatever truth there might be in the story of those two recensions, and equally under-estimated the value of the recension of Al Hajjaj. He goes so far as to hold that there were no *official written* copies at all before Al Hajjaj. That means that there was well over half a century after the death of Mohammed for development.

It was since this book was published that the MS. of the Koran was discovered in Cambridge, whose first announcement created such a sensation. We await with great interest the pronouncement of scholars upon it.

We must confess that M. Casanova's second volume interests us far more than the first, as the arguments for his main thesis appear to us most unconvincing, but we welcome it none the less as having served to introduce this most able criticism on the history of the Koran.

R. F. MCNEILE.

A History of the Islamic Peoples. Translated by S. KHUDA BUKHSH. 16mo; pp. 170. University of Calcutta Press. 1914.

By translating Dr. Weil's "Geschichte der Islamitischen Völker," the author has rendered a great service to the English-speaking people who are anxious to know the verdict of German scholars on Islam. The book gives a fair account of Islam from the birth of Mohammed to the coming of the Abbasides to the caliphate, a period of about 179 years. The translator has omitted cumbrous footnotes, and in some places has added footnotes of his own. What has been written here of Mohammed has been written before and reviewed by English authors. The verdict of Dr. Weil on the method adopted for the propagation of Islam is that "Mohammed had spread Islam more

bribery, cunning, deceit and force, than by conviction " (p. 48). The writer is of the opinion that under Islam woman lost the high position she formerly held (p. 19), and he shows how non-Moslems had to suffer under Moslem rule (p. 21). The history from the death of Mohammed to the end of the reign of the Omayyads is concise, scholarly and full of connected events. It shows clearly how and under what circumstances the Moslem Empire spread in such a short time from the Oxus to Spain. It is satisfactory to note that Walid (the caliph) devoted his attention to the welfare of his people, the growth of prosperity, the establishment of charitable institutions, and the diffusion of learning. Throughout the length and breadth of the empire mosques were built, schools founded, streets laid out, and almshouses and hospitals opened. The book has neither index nor table of contents. ANWAR-UL-HAQQ.

Islam and the Muslim Prayer. A collection of matter concerning the faith of Islam, which has appeared in the *Islamic Review* since its initiation. Edited by KHWAJA KAMAL-UD-DIN, B.A., LL.D. Woking, London. 1914.

This handy booklet of over sixty pages is distributed free of charge " amongst such enquirers after truth as wish to know of Islam."

One is puzzled after reading by the evident sincerity of the writers, who here express their appreciation and interpretations of the teaching of Islam. From cover to cover the book is full of an extremely idealistic conception of the religion of Mohammed, and in many ways would not be accepted as an apologetic for Islam by orthodox Moslems. The teaching is characteristic of the cultured Indian reformer's school, which is making strenuous efforts to bring about in the British Isles a more intelligent and tolerant regard for Islam. The reviewer's impression of the book is, that it is an attempt to present Islam in the guise of a Christianity without Christ. The doctrinal views therein expressed are not trustworthy. They do not represent the real Islam, and the various writers seem to be deluded by the Indian idealism, which is not Islam as found in Egypt, Arabia, or Turkey.

The editor of the book in a " Foreword " speaks of " the gross misrepresentation of Islam by its slanderers in the West, and is 'gratified to find that the clouds have begun to disperse before the rising Sun of Truth.' "

Here is an interesting definition of Islam which appears on the opening page : " Islam . . . is a religion which embraces all such religions that have been preached by teachers inspired by God in various ages and different countries " . . .

The writer goes on : " This generous teaching of Al-Quran prompts me to cherish feelings of love and reverence for Moses and Jesus, it enjoins on me also to pay my respect and allegiance to Rama Chandra, Krishna and Lord Budha . . . Hence . . . Islam is the name of every religion, creed or faith, which has been preached from time to time in different countries and various tribes by teachers inspired by God " !

He claims, of course, that the Koran is the last Word of God to the world, and contends that the use of the " unchanging Arabic language " is an argument in proof of its finality. He says, in effect, that the theological conceptions which in other languages demand exhaustive and elaborate treatment in books and treatises, in Arabic can be explained and understood by single words.

" Islam is as wide in its conception as humanity itself . . . It was the religion of every prophet of God who appeared in any part of

the world . . . It is pre-eminently the religion of Peace." So the writers go on through the various doctrinal headings : " God, Unity, Revelation, Immortality, Progress (as opposed to everlasting punishment), Angels, Belief, and the practices of Islam."

Under the heading of " Angels," the thesis is summed up in the sentence : " The real significance of the belief in angels is, therefore, that we should follow the inviter to good or the attraction for good which is placed within us."

Islam, it is claimed, teaches the highest reverence for authority, and the writer contends that Moslems must be loyal to rulers who are over them, even though they be of another faith. Most Moslems would deny this.

The paragraph under " Salvation " is worth recording in full : " It may be added here that salvation, according to the teachings of the Holy Qu'ran, is that state of perfection which is indicated in what is called ' the soul at rest,' by which is understood the state of the soul, in which it is not only delivered from the bondage of sin and freed from all weaknesses and frailties, but has further attained to high moral perfection, and is braced with spiritual strength. The state of salvation is generally expressed in the Holy Qu'ran by the words : ' They shall have no fear, nor shall they grieve.' The state of salvation does not, therefore, relate only to life after death, but also to this life, and a man's salvation in the next life is only according to the state of salvation to which he has attained in this life."

The chief defect of Indian Moslem idealism lies in its fundamental misconception of what St. Paul called " the natural man " ; and in the book under review, one writer declares that St. Paul's teaching is not in accordance with the teaching of Christ. He, in common with all other Moslems, holds that the Christian doctrine of " original sin " is dishonouring to God, and so categorically denies that man has a bias towards evil. Thus there is in Islam no need for atonement.

HERBERT E. E. HAYES.

Hadith and the New Testament. A chapter from " Muhammedanische Studien." By Professor GOLDZIHER. Pp. 48. London : S.P.C.K.

Although this little volume appeared some time ago, we desire to call attention to it because of its importance to all those unable to read Goldziher's " Muhammedanische Studien." Although Moslem controversy is abandoning the traditions and choosing the Koran or the Bible for its battle ground, there is much in the Hadith of the utmost value to the missionary student. Prof. Goldziher shows how the tendency to draw a picture of Mohammed that should not be inferior to that of Christ, led the Moslems to attribute Gospel miracles and the sayings of Christ, including the Lord's Prayer, to their prophet. Z.

L'Amour, Le Marriage, La Justice Selon Le Koran. By BACHIR ALI. 16mo. ; pp. 122. Edition Nilsson, Paris. 1914. Price 2 francs.

It is a sad comment on Koranic ethics that this otherwise most useful volume should appear in a series including books on subjects too suggestive for the average reader. The author has dealt fairly with his topic, and the contents include all the Koranic teaching regarding the veil, marriage, divorce, Mohammed's Paradise, etc. There is little comment or explanation, and the Book of the Prophet is left to speak for itself. The writer, however, makes very clear the character of the Prophet and his loose teaching. A book such as this is

calculated to enlighten young Moslems of North Africa in regard to the real character of Islam, for they will read French rather than Arabic. Of course, they know, as do we, that Islam is not based on the Koran only, and that the traditions and the later developments of Islam have left the Koran far behind (or in advance in this case) regarding such topics as are here treated. The sad degradation of womanhood kept pace with the development of Islam, and the pages of "As Siyuti" and "Al Ghazali" contain more to bring a blush to the cheek of manhood than does the Koran itself. S. M. Z.

The Primitive Text of the Gospels and Acts. By ALBERT C. CLARK. 112 pp. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1914. Price 4*s.* nett.

Everything that establishes the integrity and genuineness of the New Testament Text is of the deepest interest to the missionary among Moslems. The crux of the controversy between educated Moslems and missionaries continues to be their assertion that the New Testament text has been corrupted. Where, formerly, this assertion was made in ignorance of all critical methods of investigation and without any appreciation of the historical evidence that the New Testament existing in the days of Mohammed was the same as that which we have to-day, at present, educated Moslems are using the arguments of Western scholars regarding the authorship and age of the New Testament documents, using everything that suits their fancy and furnishes an argument against the trustworthiness of the text. We welcome the appearance of this interesting study which follows a new method, and if the author's argument is true, brings us back to the archetype of the four gospels in book form not later than the middle of the second century. We cannot do better than sum up both the method and results of his investigation from his own words in the preface :—

"The method which I have endeavoured to apply to the criticism of the Gospels and Acts is one which took shape in the course of a previous investigation conducted upon the text of Cicero.

"The subject with which it is concerned is that of omissions in MSS. Whenever the readings of two MSS., which belong to different families, are compared, it is found that one of them does not contain passages which occur in the other. In all such cases there are two possible explanations, viz. : that the words are spurious, and have been inserted by an interpolator in one MS., or that they are genuine, and have been accidentally omitted by the other. The hypothesis of accident is highly probable, when there is a reason which will account for the omission . . . The test which I propose is arithmetical. It is based upon an empirical observation which I made while working upon the text of Cicero, namely, that short passages, the genuineness of which has been doubted on the ground of omission by a particular MS. or family of MSS. frequently contain the same, or nearly the same, number of letters. I thus found myself in the presence of a unit. When I examined longer passages in the same way, I found multiples of this unit. The natural inference is that the unit corresponds to a line in an ancestor . . . The chief result of my investigation has been to show the falsity of the principle *brevior lectio potior*. This was laid down by Griesbach as a canon of criticism in the words : Brevior lectio, nisi testium, vetustorum et gravium auctoritate penitus destituatur, praeferenda est verbosiori. Librarii enim multo proniores ad addendum fuerunt quam ad omittendum.

" Unless my method is based upon a delusion, this statement has no foundation in facts. I may also observe that it is not so easy to invent as it is to omit. Nowhere is the falsity of the maxim *brevior lectio potior* more evident than in the New Testament. The process has been one of contraction, not of expansion. The primitive text is the longest, not the shortest. It is to be found not in BX, or in the majority of Greek MSS., but in the ' Western ' family—*i.e.*, in the ancient versions and the Codex Bezae (D). If my analysis is sound, we are brought back to an archetype of the four Gospels in book form which cannot be later than the middle of the second century. This archetype appears to have contained the passages which have been most seriously suspected by recent critics—*e.g.*, the end of St. Mark and St. John vii. 53–viii. 11."

The investigation is too technical to admit of long discussion here, but the argument seems as conclusive as it is clever, and seems to be approved, at least in principle, by other recent critics, among them P. Corssen, Professor Burkitt and Dr. Salmon. It will be some time, however, before even educated Moslems can appreciate so careful and conscientious a piece of critical work as this before us. S. M. Z.

The Missionary Obligation. By ALFRED E. GARVIE, M.A., D.D. 141 pp.; 12mo. Hodder and Stoughton, London. 1914. Price 2*s*. net.

These lectures, published in book form, were delivered before the London Missionary Society. They are intended to show that interest in Foreign Missions need not be limited to those " who seek to retain the firmness of their faith by the rigidity of their theology." In other words, that modernism, too, can claim the missionary motive and feel the missionary obligation. The author admits that for those who retain the old faith as regards the Bible, the Gospel message, the problem to which he addresses himself does not exist. Although Principal Garvie goes further in approving and accepting what he calls " the assured conclusions of modern criticism " than we think it wise to go, he says, " I hold with all my heart and soul that the Gospel we should take to the ends of the earth is the Gospel of an *objective atonement for sin in His sacrifice*. Let me try to show first of all why we should preach such a Gospel, and secondly how we can preach it."

The first three chapters of Genesis, however, are myths ! (page 29). No man's final destiny will be determined until he has had opportunity to receive or reject Christ. The conceit of modernism in taking credit for that which is as old as the Gospel is irritating, and we cannot understand that " the conception of society as organic," should be proclaimed a modern discovery. The best chapter is that on the changes in modern thought as regards other religions, and the contrast between the claims of Islam and Christianity is strongly set forth.

The book, unfortunately, has some passages which show what the author himself calls " the shallowness of breadth "—*e.g.*, the missionary " need not carry with him to Hindu, Chinaman, or Jap [*sic*], popular Hebrew or Jewish ideas about the world and man. He need not substitute the Babylonian cosmology, even as purified by Hebrew faith in one God, for cosmologies of other races." Why not ?

We heartily join in the author's conclusion, " The Church to-day will be revived as it recovers its loosening hold on the Gospel of the grace of God in Jesus Christ our Lord," but we believe that she will regain her grip on this Gospel by resisting the insidious attack of destructive criticism and an anti-supernatural theology. S. M. Z.

The Influence of the Bible on Civilisation. By ERNEST VON DOBSCHÜTZ, D.D. 16mo.; 190 pp. Charles Scribner and Sons, New York. Price $1.25 nett.

This book is of special interest to missionaries working among Moslems, and well-adapted for translation into vernaculars. The author traces the history of the Bible through the centuries and notes the influence which it exerted upon civilisation. During the first three centuries, every Christian who could afford it tried to own at least a copy of some New Testament book. The Bible was widely circulated, therefore, long before Mohammed's time. Excellent illustrations illuminate the text—many of them of rare manuscripts. The author does not touch upon the great mission fields where the Bible has made its conquests during the last century. In this respect the book is weak.

S. M. Z.

The New Testament in The Twentieth Century. By MAURICE JONES, B.D. 12mo; pp. 464. London: Macmillan and Co. 1914.

The present attitude of educated Moslems toward Jesus Christ and the Scriptures is so different from that which obtained even a decade ago, that the missionary who is not acquainted with recent Christological and historical criticism of the New Testament will be unable to meet his opponent. The Moslem press is utilizing much of the destructive criticism of the West for the defence of Islam. Some of this literature has been reviewed in our columns. The volume before us provides a survey of twentieth century criticism, and gives an outlook on the present trend of thought. In dealing with Moslems who continue to assail the genuineness of the New Testament documents, it is well to know, as the author says, that "the best criticism of the age has made up its mind concerning the genuineness of the great bulk of the Pauline Epistles"; that the date assigned to the Synoptic Gospels, and even to that of John, is far too early to admit any possibility of the Moslem contention of wilful corruption. The theory of "the Christ-myth" is thoroughly investigated and disposed of; while Harnack himself now admits the genuineness of the famous passage concerning Jesus in Josephus, which had for centuries been regarded as a Christian interpolation. Altogether, this volume will meet the needs and expectations of the busy missionary who desires to keep in touch with the results of present day criticism. Z.

Mohammed: A popular essay on the life of the Prophet of Islam. By H. E. E. HAYES. Price 3*d*. (Privately printed.) England.

An admirable brief sketch of the life of Mohammed and his teaching. Suitable for wide circulation in mission circles and among those who have idealistic and false notions of the Prophet. Some paragraphs are a little severe, but on the whole the treatment is fair and based on authorities. S. M. Z.

The Story of Mohammed. By EDITH HOLLAND. 16mo; pp. 192. London: George G. Harrap and Co. 1914.

A brief and concise account, in simple language, of the life of Mohammed and the early struggles of Islam. The best possible light is thrown on this pen picture of the prophet's character, and one wonders whether the emphasis placed, throughout the book, on his zealous efforts to overthrow idolatry and "establish the worship of the true God," will not blind youthful minds to the great lack in this religion—faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. C. B. K.

Arabic Proverbs. Collected by Mrs. A. P. SINGER and edited by ENNO LITTMANN, Ph.D. F. Diemer, Finck and Baylaender, Cairo. 1913. 86 pp. Price twenty piastres.

There are many collections of Arabic proverbs, both in the original and with notes or translation. The best known is that of Buckhardt, London, 1875. The advantage of this new collection (169 proverbs) is that it is compact and fairly cheap. The Arabic text is given, also a transliteration and explanatory notes. Some of the proverbs are Sudanese rather than Egyptian. All bear the impress of Islam. The proverbs are given without alphabetical or logical order, and there is no index. S. M. Z.

Muslim Conquests in North Africa. By Canon SELL, D.D., M.R.A.S. (The Islam Series). Christian Literature Society, Madras. Pp. 82. Price 5 ans. 1914.

Another invaluable additional to this series. It covers the period during the rule of the Umayyad Khalifas at Damascus and that of the Abbasid Khalifas at Bagdad—the winning of Egypt and all North Africa. There are no chapter divisions, and the story loses some of its interest because it is so greatly condensed. The reader, however, is referred to authorities for every statement, and the book is, therefore, excellent as an introduction to the sources. S. M. Z.

La Céramique dans l'Art Musulman. Par HENRI RIVIERE. Avec une Introduction, par GASTON MIGEON. Two volumes. (Paris : Librairie Centrale des Beaux Arts).

These two volumes afford a complete history of Moslem ceremics, and contain one hundred plates in colour-photography. A work for the specialist, but with many side-lights on the history and early spread of Islam. S. M. Z.

Histoire des Berbères et des Dynasties Musulmanes de L'Afrique Septentrionale. Par IBN-KHALDOUN, traduite de l'Arabe par M. LE BARON DE SLANE, Interprête principal de l'Armée d'Afrique. Nouvelle édition, autorisée, publiée avec préface et table générale, par Edmond Doutté, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de L'Université d'Alger. Five volumes (2,500 pages), dont un volume de tables générales. Prix des 5 volumes, 100 francs. Paris : Librairie Paul Geuthner. 1914-1915.

Java and Her Neighbours. By A. S. WALCOTT. Putnam, London. 1914. Price, 10*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. A. S. Walcott in " Java and Her Neighbours," has " ventured to write up " the notes of " three months' wanderings in Java, Celebes, the Moluccas and Sumatra," in the hopes that they may prove of use to some travellers, or of interest to those who do their travelling by proxy. He went, he saw, he pressed the button of his camera, and left the native photographer to do the rest. He seems never to have wandered from the beaten track of the globe trotter. The book is a mixture of superficialities and inaccuracies. There are sundry prosy remarks on Borneo, but all that our author seems to have had of practical experience of this great island was acquired apparently in a very brief call on a coasting steamer at the modern anglicised mushroom oil town of Balikpappan. What basis does this give for such a summary generalisation as this that " the Dyaks are . . . ugly of face and thorough savages . . . ? " (p. 107). His other character sketches of the varied peoples of Insulinde are as wide of the mark and as unreliable as this. What is to be said of such an error as this

occurring in an appendix devoted to explaining the "administrative divisions, etc.," of the Netherlands Indies. "The Governor-General is, in practice, elected by the Council." There are other inaccuracies equally flagrant. Some half truths and inaccuracies in an article in the *Contemporary Review* for April called forth a strong leader in a leading Dutch daily on the first of May this year. The *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* in this pleaded for the publication of a reliable year book on Colonial matters by the Dutch Government, and cited the action of Japan with regard to Chosen. It was pointed out that no contradiction ever fully overtakes the intial printed error, and further that all attempted corrections are regarded as coming from partisan sources, while the original statement has the benefit of being regarded as emanating from an independent observer. This book is another argument for the need of such a source of information. The Dutch Colonies form a Colonial Empire which until the division of Africa was second only to our own. English readers as a whole know very little of the Far East, and it is to be feared that too often in that little there is a sadly predominant tincture of inaccuracy.

GEORGE MUIR LAIDLAW.

The Lure of Islam. By C. PROWSE. 16mo.; 255 pp. Sampson, Low, Marston and Company, London. 1914. Price 6*s*.

One may well hope that this novel will take its place among fast selling fiction. It has as real and realistic a message as "Uncle Tom's Cabin" had in the days of American slavery. The Malays of Cape Town are carrying on a Moslem propaganda, and the Indian Moslems are helping them among both native and Christian Europeans. The situation is alarming, and the methods used closely resemble those of the white slave traffic. Those who doubt the facts on which this powerful story is based will find them corroborated by Government statistics as well as the reports of missionary societies. In this connection we may well remember that the All India Moslem League has made representations at the Foreign and Colonial Offices, "that the recommendations of the South African Commission regarding the recognition of marriages, if carried out, would seriously encroach on the rights of Mussalmans and be a disastrous interference with laws relating to their religion guaranteed by the Proclamation of 1858." Will the British Government sanction polygamy in South Africa?

S. M. Z.

Kismet: Glory Be To Allah; or, The Story of Hadj Abdullah as told by himself. (No publisher's name). Cape Town. 16mo.; 26 pp.

An autobiographical sketch by a Moslem convert of South Africa. The descriptions given of Islam, and especially of Mohammed's life, might have been written with a little more sympathy. The situation must be grave to require such plain speech in English. S.M.Z.

The Emergency in China. By F. L. HAWKS POTT. Christian Literature Society and the United Council on Work among Young People. Madras. 1914. Price 8 ans.

This is a reprint of the American edition. Mr. Pott's statement of the results of the revolution and industrial development is extremely interesting, while his treatment of the social transformation shows that not only are there great possibilities for Christianity in China, but that it is highly probable that the Chinese of the future will differ from the Chinese of the past. The chapter on religious conditions is full of

interest, and ought to be read with great care. It leads up to the conclusion that the present is a critical period for the Christian Church in China. Never has the opportunity of winning China for Christ been so great.

We regret to notice that the author has entirely omitted the question of Islam in China, although undoubtedly the Mohammedan population is one of the largest factors in the future development of China, especially as regards the relation of the Republic to the countries of Central Asia. Why does Islam never come to its own in general text books on China and India? Two lands where the problem is not only unique, but pressing. Z.

A Short History of the Egyptian People : The Literature of the Egyptians. 2 vols. By E. A. Wallis Budge. 16mo; pp. 280 and 272. London : J. M. Dent and Sons. 1914.

Although neither of these excellent hand-books falls directly within the scope of our quarterly, we are glad to call attention to them. The missionary in Egypt at least should know something of the days of the Pharaohs and the beginnings of history. Dr. Tisdall and others have shown how in popular Islam there are elements of the old Egyptian superstitions and magic. The date of the present *moulids*, held in honour of popular heroes, is still fixed according to the old Egyptian chronology. Z.

The Women of Egypt. By Elizabeth Cooper. 12mo.; pp. 380 (illustrated). Price 6*s*. London : Hurst and Blackett, Ltd. 1914.

The first of a series on the life of women in various parts of the world. The author, during her stay in Egypt, made friends with Egyptian women, and thus was permitted to visit them in their homes and was enabled to learn some of their customs in a way impossible to an ordinary traveller. Mrs. Cooper, very early in the book, draws the attention of the reader to the fact that women, in streets and public assemblies, are very much in a minority. She says, "Seclusion has been bred for centuries in the heart, habits and life of the Egyptian woman, and she feels it no hardship." She tells of a visit to the wife of an educated Bedouin on the edge of the desert. However, as she says, "This lady, well gowned, well read, speaking English with a slight accent, was not a fair example of either a Bedouin or Egyptian woman."

The literacy of the Egyptian Mohammedan is seventy-eight per thousand in the case of males, and *two* per thousand in females, while that of the Coptic Christian only rises to one hundred and eighty-eight per thousand males, and sixteen per thousand females. Of the total population of Egypt to-day, over ten millions are Moslem, and less than a million Coptic Christians. The time was when Egypt had twenty million Christians, but since the Moslem conquest in A.D. 641 the Church has been persecuted, services prohibited, Church buildings destroyed, books burned and leaders imprisoned or killed. The Church now is "living on its past." "*Superstition* might well be called the religion of the women of Egypt, both Christians and Moslems."

Regarding missions, the author says, "It is thought that the existing agencies of all Christian Missions in Egypt are not reaching more than one million people, and of the three thousand six hundred and twenty-one towns and villages, not more than three hundred and sixty have any regular missionary work carried on in them."

The task remaining in Egypt and the Soudan is, therefore, a gigantic

one. It is a land where a Moslem accepts another faith with much hazard to his career and often his life. "Furthermore, the rapid Westernisation of Egypt has increased, in certain respects, rather than diminished the task of Missions."

The facts given are not altogether new, but they are well presented, generally reliable, and make a strong appeal. AMY E. ZWEMER.

The New Tripoli, and what I saw in the Hinterland. By ETHEL BRAUN. T. Fisher Unwin ; London, Adelphi Terrace : Leipzig, Inselstrasse, 20. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

This book is an account of a visit to Tripoli in 1913. The greater part of it is concerned with the town of Tripoli itself, but the author made a short journey into the Hinterland to Tajura, Zanzur, Gharian, and Yeffren. The book is not profound, and will certainly throw no light on Islam in Tripoli. But it is clearly and brightly written, and, illustrated as it is with fifty-eight first-class photographs, gives the general reader a succinct account of Tripoli as it is to-day since the Italian occupation. The author is distinctly pro-Italian in her sympathies, and gives a most encouraging account of the progress of Tripoli in all things material under the Italians. They have established good communications, roads, telegraphs, railways, motor services : they are preparing the people for taking a share in their own development by instituting good technical colleges : they have improved the water supply and the drainage, and by these means and the good hospitals and medical service which they have introduced, they have already done much towards stamping out, or, at any rate, reducing certain diseases which have devastated the Arabs. It may be that, carefully guided by her kind Italian hosts, she has seen everything couleur de rose : still, making all due allowance for that possibility, the Italians have certainly made a wonderful record in a short time.

The book gives a clear account of the different races inhabiting Tripoli—the Arabs, the Berbers, negroes, Fezzanese (or half caste negroes and Arabs), and Jews, of whom there are a large number in Tripoli. There is an interesting description of a visit to the Troglodyte community at Gharian. RUTH ROUSE.

Morocco The Piquant, or Life in Sunset Land. By GEO. EDMUND HOLT. 16mo. ; 242 pp. 6*s.* net. Heinemann, London. 1914.

A series of informing chapters on the North West corner of Morocco, where the author lived as American Consul for about five years (1907-1911). He gives some exciting adventures, many humorous incidents, a few inaccuracies in regard to Islam (due to ignorance of the language apparently, cf., pp. 4, 6, 59, 220), but also many discriminate observations, especially on the arts and crafts of Morocco. Mission work is not mentioned. The social life of the people leaves much to be desired. Although the slave trade still exists, the condition of the slaves is not an unhappy one. "No rogues' gallery exists in Moroccan civilisation ; to-day a man may be a cattle-thief, to-morrow a grand vizier ; the next day a forgotten prisoner in a filthy *casbah*, his house and his women confiscate." The last two chapters are meant to be historical and prophetic. No one can resist the coming of the French unless there be a great Moslem reaction, a Pan-Islamic *jihad*, a rule of fire and blood. Meanwhile, "the shadows of the mosque towers are growing longer, and the silhouette of the *Mueddin* on the minaret takes the form of a Christian Cross !" The sun of Islam is setting also in Morocco.

S. M. Z.

The Balkan Wars, 1912, 1913. By JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN. 16mo; pp. 140. Princeton University Press. 1914.

In the series of Stafford Little Lectures, given at Princeton University, Dr. Schurman, the President of Cornell University, gives us in this small volume an excellent summary of the causes and the events of the Balkan Wars. The first part of the book deals with the war between Turkey and the Balkan States, the second part with the war between the allies. The author shows the historical justice in the fact that the Turkish Empire in Europe met its doom at the hands of those nations which for centuries had been victims of oppression. The Montenegrins continue to wear black on their caps in mourning for the fatal day at the battle of Kossovo, where Islam triumphed five centuries ago. One has only to read these pages to have a true picture of this storm centre of Europe, where the mutual hatred of slave nations and their joint hatred of the Turk stirred feelings to their lowest depths and resulted in all the cruelty of warfare intended for destruction rather than for victory. President Schurman ends his history with the hoisting of the Greek flag over Crete and the extraordinary fortune of the King of the Hellenes, who "in a few months preceding and succeeding his accession to the throne, by successful generalship, doubled the area and population of his country." The volume has three sketch maps and a good index. Z.

The Orient Express. By ARTHUR MOORE, F.R.G.S. 12mo.; 308 pp. Constable and Co., London. 1914. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

A series of brilliant essays and descriptive articles, some of which have already appeared in the *Times*, *The Contemporary Review*, the *Edinburgh Review*, and other papers, and which carry the reader rapidly from the siege of Tabriz through the whole length of Persia, and end up with "the dark ages in Macedonia" and "the Millenium" promised by "the Young Turks." The Orient Express starts out from Budapest in the preface, but the greater part of the volume, 170 pages, is taken up with Persia, "a fallen empire slumbering in the sun, forgotten by the busy West remote from its ways and its works, unthreaded by its railways, known but as a name, remembered only by troubled statesmen, who see in it a source of present worry and the sure promise of evil to come."

The author is not an optimist regarding the future of Persia or of Turkey under Moslem rule. The stars of empire are setting; the caravan of constitutionalism "starts for the dawn of nothing—Oh! make haste." The Orient Express is an imaginary line, but the view from the train sweeps the whole horizon of affairs Persian, and shows us the land and its people. Their rulers and their robbers, their philosophy in adversity, and their fatalism as regards the future. The author writes from experience, his descriptions are as vivid as they are entertaining, and he has deep sympathy without giving rein to sentiment. Russia, he says, has practically occupied Northern Persia, and never intends to move out again, and "the position taken up by the British Government in the South is in all essentials the same as that of Russia in the North." Actual independence is a vain dream.

The chapter on Macedonia is of earlier date (1905), and those on Turkey deal with the proclamation of the constitution and the disasters of the late war with the Balkan States. The end is not yet, and the author makes no rash prophecies. But, "Had they had the tongues of men and angels, the wisdom of the serpent and the gentleness of the dove, the Young Turks must still have failed to hold Macedonia."

It is most unfortunate that the book has no index. S. M. Z.

The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by its Press. By AHMED AMIN, Ph.D., Columbia University Studies in Political Science, No. 142. Longmans, Green and Company, Agents. London: P. S. King and Son. 1914.

In this thesis the reader will find a very careful study of the history of Turkish journalism. The author shows in a most illuminating way that the history of the press discloses all the main features in the development of modern tendencies in Turkey. We are informed that the first printing press was set up in Constantinople, in 1728, in connection with an attempt to reform Government methods by adopting western ways. The foundation of the Turkish system had been well laid by the early Sultans who made skilful use (1) of the Tartar instinct for discipline, (2) of the effective political instrument provided in Islam, (3) of many of the ideas on Government already developed among the conquered nations. Though highly efficient for a time, the system was complex and artificial. New conditions called for readjustment and reform in obedience to the instinct of self preservation.

The first Turkish newspaper was published in 1831. Previous to 1860 all journals were official Government organs, but in that year private capital launched the first independent newspaper in the Empire. During the first half of the Nineteenth Century such marked progress in political ideas had been made that the reformers of the next generation attempted a transformation of the entire system. The Young Turkish party was organised in 1862, and the leaders threw themselves into journalism as an instrument of reform. The first restraint upon publishers came in the new press law of 1865. Measures of increasing strictness drove many young writers into banishment. But these found liberty abroad, and their editorial activities did not cease. By the aid of the foreign post offices (then existing in Turkey) these journals were spread secretly even into the interior. On the other hand, on the part of the papers not forbidden to be published within the Empire, there was marked progress in journalistic activity and influence in spite of the close censorship. By 1876 forty-seven newspapers, in various languages, were published in Constantinople. The change brought about by these publications "was a tremendous one. Owing mainly to the press, in the last instance, the sleeping, self-satisfied, mediæval community had become within two or three decades a self-conscious, self-critical and potentially progressive one." The leaders had now come to see in democracy a panacea for regenerating the country, and they accordingly demanded a Constitution. They had almost reached their goal when Abd-ul-Hamid appeared on the scene and forced on the Empire his highly organised autocratic system.

By this reactionary monarch the revolutionary movement was cruelly repressed for more than thirty years. A marked characteristic of his reign was his dread of the press. "He read all the papers and took immediate action when he deemed it necessary. As a result the vigorous and militant press was reduced within one year to a ready tool in the Sultan's hands." While the Young Turk publications abroad might continue to attack the Government, within the Empire the censorship was never relaxed.

"Everything in Turkey seemed dormant and stationary. In reality this was so only on the surface." Concerted secret propaganda at last "found favourable response from classes who had made submission their highest ideal." The change of attitude was startling. The moment arrived when the self-constituted Committee of Union and

Progress found it possible to take rapid action. The Sultan was compelled to yield, and with the proclamation of the Constitution in 1908 " a new situation suddenly arose in Turkey."

The last part of the thesis is devoted to a minute and discriminating study of the Constitutional Period. There burst forth at once an emotional journalistic energy which flooded the Empire with its publications. Though there was a brave desire for improvement, but little real success was achieved in reforming the inward life of the nation. The lack of solidarity among the leaders and the waste of energy on the provision for defence against external aggresison prevented the reforms from going beneath the surface. Our author makes no reference to Arab journalism, but his main conclusions are not affected by this defect. We must commend, moreover, his accurate analysis of the forces which led to the counter-revolution of 1909, and the consequent dethronement of Abd-ul-Hamid. The era that followed was " the beginning of the end of Young Turkish idealism." Constitutional principles and methods were largely abandoned. Unconsciously, perhaps, the Committee leaders, in order to maintain their power and influence, began to imitate the methods of the dethroned Sultan. The non-Turkish elements were to be assimilated through coercive methods if necessary. " As a consequence the moderate and deliberative elements began to desert the Committee's ranks and join hands with the elements who had varying reasons for discontent. The latter organised themselves into the party of Liberal Union. It soon became apparent, however, that the new party was not different from its opponents in its composition and tactics." The animosity between the two parties became extremely strong, and found bitter expression in their respective publications. The Committee Government was forced to retire and the new party began a zealous campaign to put the national house in order. It was too late. The disturbed situation and the loss of prestige which had made the Italian invasion of Italy possible had already prepared the way for the Balkan war." " When at last the Government was obliged to sign a treaty establishing a humiliating peace, the Young Turkish Committee stepped in, easily mastered the situation, and regained a considerable amount of prestige in the second Balkan war, which enabled Turkey to reoccupy the city of Adrianople." Thus, on the one hand, far-reaching benefits were secured " in the way of self-realisation and self-consciousness through defeats and humiliations." On the other hand, " the loss to self-confidence and the hope of national survival, a natural outcome of crushing defeat, was greatly alleviated." Thus the real effect of the Balkan war was " to build up a new situation in which change and progress could find a course of development, entirely unprecedented in the history of modern Turkey."

After a careful survey of the most recent journalistic activity in the Turkish language, the conclusion is reached by our author that " a much sounder state of affairs is becoming manifest in the character of the press." This optimistic forecast might have been fulfilled had the present European conflict not forced Turkey to waste her energies once more on a military policy destructive of all the resources of reform. Although the friends of Turkey are thus once more cruelly disappointed, one cannot but be impressed by the note of patriotic hopefulness with which the author concludes his survey of the Turkish press.

J. Stewart Crawford.

A Child of the Orient. By DEMETRA VAKA. 12mo; pp. 293. London: John Lane. 1914.

This book, by the author of "Haremlik," is the record of the life of a Greek girl in Turkey, told by herself. Her playmates were boys and girls of the upper class Moslems, and the brightest, pleasantest side of Moslem child life is here elaborated. The spirit of Greek antagonism to the Turk runs side by side with admiration and love for the individual Turk. She says, "In the abstract, the Turks, from the deeds they had done, had taken their place in my mind as the cruellest of races; yet in the concrete that race was represented to me by dark-eyed, pretty Kiamele, the sweetest and brightest memory of an otherwise bleak infancy."

There is a chapter on her life in America, and on the restlessness of women the world over and dissatisfaction with their lines of development. After some years in America she returned to Turkey, and at the first sight of Constantinople she exclaims, "How delightfully—how terribly—everything was the same; disdained by progress, forgotten by time." The Russian statesman Ignatief once said, "They talk of regenerating Turkey, as if that were possible even to God Almighty above." AMY E. ZWEMER.

L'Asia Minore e l'Italia. By GIUSEPPE BEVIONE. Fratelli Bocca, Milano-Roma. Pp. 220. 1914.

The author reviews in a lucid manner the attitude of the various great powers towards the Ottoman Empire and its problems; but perhaps the most interesting section is that in which he describes the powerful movement in the Arabic-speaking part of the Empire, centreing in Beyrout, towards what may one day even lead to independence. In this and the Armenian problem he sees the most serious difficulties for the Young Turk. He writes as a friend to Turkey, and is, on the whole, optimistic. R. F. MCNEILE.

Travel and Politics in Armenia. By NOEL BUXTON and HAROLD BUXTON. 16mo.; pp. 271. Smith, Elder and Co., London. 1914.

A Christian Baedeker on Armenia and the Armenian question, giving a graphic account of recent travels in Russian and Turkish Armenia. The political reflections given on the present situation are the more valuable, as they are based upon an experience gained from many previous journeys at a time when Asiatic Turkey is becoming the subject of diplomatic action by all the great Powers, and its partition into spheres of influence seems imminent. This book is exceptionally valuable. The introduction is by Viscount Bryce. He considers the Armenian people the equals of any of the European races "in point of industry, intellect, and energy, and unquestionably the strongest of all the peoples of Western Asia." Six chapters deal with the Kurds, Turkish Armenians, Russian Armenians and the present day situation. Three chapters at the close are historical and give a sketch of Armenian culture and nationalism. The authors see no hope for Armenia under Turkish rule. So long as the Turk remains what he has always been, his domination will remain a curse and a blight. "He remains a barbarian with the power to be brutal, and without the power to govern."

The Armenian church has for a thousand years had a struggle for its existence and has borne the brunt of persecution, sealing her testimony with innumerable martyrs. There is even less hope under

the Young Turkish body than under the old régime. Liberty has been tasted and is now lost. " It is worse in that Young Turks are more intelligent than old ones, and the danger of permanent subjection is, therefore, greater. Again, the Kurds, dreading the approach of reform, are more alert and active. Armenian emigration is thereby increased and the national cause is jeopardised." A remarkable and timely volume and worthy of careful study. The bibliography is good, the map inferior, and the book lacks an index. S. M. Z.

The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia. By E. G. Browne. 12mo.; pp. 336. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. 1914. Price 12*s*.

This book treats of two different though kindred subjects, the Persian Press and the patriotic poetry of modern Persia. Like all the previous works of Professor Browne, it is well-written, thorough, and in every way a book that merits careful study. He is frankly and always a friend of Persia and of the nationalist movement everywhere, otherwise his preface would scarcely have given so large a place to the patriotic poetry of the ultra nationalists in Egypt. He describes the present situation in Persia as one in which the " Government is being terrorised by Russia, which is gradually converting all North Persia into what is called in the cant of diplomacy " a veiled protectorate."

Part I. (pages 1 to 166) contains a complete list of Persian newspapers with particulars of their character and date, with some most interesting illustrations reproduced from the comic journals. Unfortunately, we are not told how many of the three hundred and seventy-one newspapers are now defunct. Persia, even more than Egypt, is a graveyard of journalism. Cairo has more daily newspapers than either London or New York, and it would seem, after the perusal of this volume, as if Persians thought they could save their country by shedding ink. Some of the editors, however, laid down their lives in the struggle for or against Constitutional liberty. Some of these newspapers were published under great difficulty. Of one we read, " It was published secretly, and the issue was limited to three hundred copies, which were placed in envelopes like letters and sent with various precautions to statesmen, theologians, merchants and others in Persia. Often, in order to conceal the place of publication, they were first sent to Paris, London, etc., to be forwarded thence to Persia. At the top of one copy which I possess stands the inscription, " Published once in forty years."

The specimens of political and patriotic poetry compiled and translated into English, are deeply interesting. They throw much light on the history of the Persian Revolution and the events that have followed. A hopeless pessimism characterises most of this poetry, however, and Islam seems doomed.

> " I see the Standard of the Faith reversed by the hands of the infidels !
> A thousand times, alas ! May my pen break ! Mosque and Mihrab
> I see obliterated under the feet of the Christians ! " S. M. Z.

Nadir the Persian. By Herbert Sherring. 16mo.; pp. 276. Methuen and Co., London. 1914.

A volume of poems by an Anglo-Indian author of high spirit and vivid narrative gifts. The reader will remember his previous romances, " Gopi " and the romance of " The Twisted Spear." The title poem is the longest, and deals with the Sack of Delhi. A picture of Moslem revenge, cruelty and estimation of womanhood. The other poems are comic or tragic, of less value, and sometimes stoop to irreverence.

S. M. Z.

Hints for Residents and Travellers in Persia. By A. R. NELIGAN. 16mo.; pp. 195. John Bale, Sons, and Danielson, London. 1914.

A compact and cheap Baedeker by the physician to the British Legation at Teheran. Every missionary going out to Persia should carefully read the book, and it will prove invaluable also to many old missionaries and experienced travellers. Packed with all sorts of wise and useful hints, especially on climate, health, outfit and modes of travel, the book also gives careful information on the routes from London to Persia and all the main roads of travel. The map is excellent, and the information on the calendar and the clock in Persia will be new to many. S. M. Z.

Visramiani (Loves of Vis and Ramin). Translated by OLIVER WARDROP. 16mo; pp. 409. London: Royal Asiatic Society. 1914.

This book is a relic of the literature of old Persia, which was nearly all destroyed by the Moslem conquest. The original was in Pahlavi. The present translation is from the Georgian version, and is carefully prepared and well indexed. There are many references to the old Persian beliefs regarding angels, paradise, hell and astrology, in some of which we can see the sources from which Islam, too, has borrowed. Cf. for example, the saying of Khuasro (p. 391), "God created evil people so that hell might not be empty"; with the Koran (Surah 50. 29).

Anti-Christ in Egypt. By W. N. WILLIS. The Anglo-Eastern Publishing Co., 48-50 Waterloo Road, London, S.E. 2*s.* net.

The aim of the writer is to inform the public of "the horrors of a commercialised traffic in women and girls" in Egypt, especially in Cairo and Port Said, and to arouse the conscience of thinking people to abolish it. The difficulties of bringing to justice or placing under restraint the foreign population owing to the Capitulations are described and there can be no question as to the urgent need for drastic measures of social reform. British officials, both military and civil, have made earnest efforts to combat the evil in the Esbekieh quarter of Cairo in particular. Yet still the cynical Mohammedan can say that England and France are at the head of a licensed paganism that has not been equalled since the days of ancient Babylon, and still there are hundreds, not to say thousands, of girls being sold into perdition every year in Egyptian cities. Until there is a much more general movement against the evil, progress will be slow against it, and the writer would have the matter taken deeply to heart by every thinking man and woman in touch with Egypt in any connection. That his book may serve widely to this end must be our earnest hope.

X.

SURVEY OF RECENT PERIODICALS

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I. GENERAL.

The Church's Obligation towards Islam. Missions-direktor Axenfeld. *Church Missionary Review*, London. DECEMBER, 1914. The substance of an address delivered at Halle in February, 1914.

A United Christendom and Islam. Rev. S. M. Zwemer, D.D. *The Constructive Quarterly*, New York. SEPTEMBER, 1914. An appeal in view of the present condition of Islam in Morocco, Persia, Africa, India, China and the Malay Archipelago, for (1) unity in scholarship between Roman Catholics and Protestants in the study of the problem, (2) unity in the defence of the Christian faith, (3) unity in the strategic survey and occupation of the field.

L'Orientalisme musulman et l'Italie moderne. A. Cabaton. *Revue du Monde Musulman.* JUNE, 1914. An interesting account of the history of Oriental studies in Italy, especially at Rome, from the time of the Crusades. Hebrew and Greek preponderated, but ever since 1311 there have been chairs of Arabic which were originally founded to prepare missionaries to the Moslem world. In 1865 there was founded a Papal seminary for priests for the study of Hebrew and Arabic, and in 1910 the already famous Pontificium Institutum biblicum de Urbe. In 1913 it had 135 students, all priests, of 21 nationalities, and the curriculum includes Biblical Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic (classical and colloquial), Assyriology, Egyptology and Coptic. It is closely allied with the Roman Catholic University of Beyrouth.

Le Prince Caetani et son Œuvre—L'Œuvre de P. Lammens. L. Bouvat. *Revue du Monde Musulman.* JUNE, 1914.

Biographical and critical accounts of the work of two of the most eminent students of Islam in the world. Careful résumés of their various writings are included.

The present Attitude of educated Moslems towards Jesus Christ and the Scriptures. Rev. S. M. Zwemer, D.D. *International Review of Missions*, Edinburgh. OCTOBER, 1914. An estimate of educated Moslem thought as shown by the public press, the circulation of the Scriptures and recent publications, especially in India and Cairo, but also in other parts of the Moslem world. "We should press forward with all our might plans for the immediate evangelization of these educated classes . . . They have lost faith in the old Islam and reach out to new ideals in ethics."

The Attitude of Italy. Arthur E. P. Weigall. *Fortnightly Review*, London. OCTOBER, 1914. Explaining the attitude of Italy during the present war to be based upon the fact " that it was England who made the successful invasion of Tripoli possible for Italy." Egypt being an integral part of the Turkish Empire, it was the natural base for Turkish operations in Tripoli, but Lord Kitchener took the most drastic measures to prevent any Turkish soldiers from passing through to Tripoli.

Italy and the War. Thomas O'Key. *Contemporary Review*, London. OCTOBER, 1914. A paper on the same subject as above, but basing the neutrality of Italy upon long cherished hatred for Austria, sympathy with the Balkan Slavs, and the financial and economic situation caused by the Libyan war.

II. SOURCES OF ISLAM IN ARABIA.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM UP TILL RECENT TIMES.

Les Mosquées de Yun-nan-fou. G. Cordier. *Revue du Monde Musulman*. JUNE, 1914. Etudes Sino-Mahométans III. A description with large map and excellent photographs of the six mosques at Yun-nan-fou.

Inscriptions sino-mahométans de Fou-tcheou. A. Vissière. *Revue du Monde Musulman*. JUNE, 1914. Etudes Sino-mahométanes IV.

Turkey and Islam. Rev. H. U. Weitbrecht, D.D. *Church Missionary Review*, London. DECEMBER, 1914. An historical account of the place of the Turkish power in the history of Islam together with a description of the various national elements in the Turkish Empire, and some notes on the condition of the Christian Churches at the present time.

IV. KORAN, TRADITIONS, THEOLOGY, etc.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE OF ISLAM.

The Ahmadiya Movement and Ahmad's place among the Prophets I. Ata-ur-Rahman. *Review of Religions*. Qadian. OCTOBER, 1914. Opening section of the revival movement within Islam in India associated with Ahmad of Qadian, giving his ten conditions of initiation.

Some Aspects of Islam in Turkey. H. C. Lukach. *Fortnightly Review*, London. NOVEMBER, 1914. A traveller's impression of (1) a Zikr at a small tekyé in one of the Turkish provinces and the present influence of the dervish orders in Turkey, (2) the status of woman, (3) the disciplinary effect of the Koran.

Les Amulettes musulmanes au Sénégal. P. Marty. *Revue du Monde Musulman*. JUNE, 1914. A detailed account of the rôle played by the amulet in the hands of the Moslem propagandist among fetish worshippers.

The El-Azhar University at Cairo. Rev. H. A. Ott, D.D. *Lutheran Church Work*, Philadelphia. SEPTEMBER 3rd, 1914. Account of a visit with statement of the great need for a Christian University in Cairo.

Public Schools in Bahrein. G. D. van Penrsem. *Neglected Arabia*, New York. JULY-SEPTEMBER, 1914.

Les Institutions de la Police en Perse. G. Demorgny. *Revue du Monde Musulman.* JUNE, 1914. The outline of thirteen lectures delivered during 1913-1914 at the Polytechnical Institute of Teheran and shortly to be published in book form.

Professor Hartmann on the Position of Woman in Islam. *The Review of Religions.* AUGUST, 1914. Qadian. A lengthy reply to the article on "the Position of Woman in Islam," in THE MOSLEM WORLD, JULY, 1914.

Bahaism and the Woman Question (i., ii.). Rev. S. G. Wilson, D.D. *Missionary Review of the World,* New York. OCTOBER-DECEMBER, 1914. A discussion of the education, the civil and domestic rights and the social position of woman under Bahaism. "Bahaism does not by its laws give woman equality with the man either in the family or the state; it has not tried to give equal opportunities of education to girls; it conforms to the social life of its environment without transforming it."

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

The Empire of the East. H. N. Brailsford. *Contemporary Review,* London. OCTOBER, 1914. Not dealing directly with Islam but interesting to all those concerned with the question as to which of the European powers will have the ascendancy in the Near East in the immediate future. Gives in outline the effect of a victorious Russia in the present war and the resultant problems.

The Turkish Crisis and American Interests. Rev. Geo. F. Herrick, D.D. *American Review of Reviews,* New York. OCTOBER, 1914. Indications from a resident of Constantinople for fifty years of the possible call from Turkey upon America for capital and leaders in education, engineering, mining, and in judicial reform.

What about the Capitulations and Missions? Rev. Geo. R. Montgomery. *Missionary Review of the World,* New York. DECEMBER, 1914. A careful explanation of the Capitulations with sundry instances of their effect, especially in dealing with the cosmopolitan population of Turkey.

Germany and Islam. Roland L. Michell. *British Empire Review.* NOVEMBER, 1914.

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CORRESPONDENCE

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THE COIN OF KING OFFA

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RYTHE HOUSE,
GREENHITHE,
KENT,
July 7th, 1914.

DEAR DR. ZWEMER,—

In reply to the request regarding the coin of King Offa published in your July issue, the following information may be useful:

About five years ago, Mr. Carlyon-Britton read a paper on this particular coin to the British Numismatic Society. This paper was published in the *Numismatic Journal*, 1908. He believes the coin to have been specially struck for the payment of the Papal revenue, known as 'Peter's Pence.' Mr. J. Allan, M.A., M.R.A.S., published an article on the same coin in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, and by the courtesy of the Curator of the Numismatic department of the British Museum I am able to quote from this article.

He points out that 'enormous quantities of Arabic coins have been found in the lands around the Baltic and in Russia.' Others have been found in Iceland, Scotland, and England, which do not indicate that there was any commercial intercourse between these countries and Arabia, but were probably carried over from the Baltic lands, whose people traded extensively with Iceland and Britain and with the Arabs. *Ibn Fazlan* has said that the people of the North used only 'dirhems' (silver coins), and it is interesting to know that the hoards discovered in Northern lands are all of silver.

Arabic gold coins, therefore, did not reach Britain *via* the Baltic States, but in all probability came from South West Europe—the Carolingian Empire.

The only other instance of Arabic coins in Britain before this coin is the discovery of a dinar of the Omayyed Caliph Rishām, 724–743, at Eastbourne, recorded in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, IX. But it was thought this was not an indication that Arabic coins circulated in England. It is highly probable that the coin which led Offa to strike the gold piece you refer to came from those countries in the Carolingian Empire which had traded with Britain. The Arabic gold coins were noted for their purity, and were no doubt hoarded by the wealthy because of their convenience in circulation when necessary.

There is sufficient historical evidence to warrant the assumption that Arabic coins were in circulation in France in the eighth century, A.D. Theodolphus, describing a journey through Provence, mentions the use of gold pieces with Arabic legends. His journey began in 797, A.D.

Coins belonging to the Abbasid Caliphs el Mansur, el Mardi, Rārūn el Rashid and el Aūm, have been found in Italy.

Mr. Allan suggests that Arabic coins were first brought to Offa's notice in this way : Charlemagne, the French King, had received large presents of gold from the Caliphs el Mansur and Rārūn el Rashid. This gold was in all probability in the form of current coin. Charlemagne may have sent some of these coins to Offa, who desired to issue a gold coinage, and who copied those which he thought were circulated in the Carolingian Empire. There is no reason to suppose that the coin in question was struck for a special occasion, it is merely a specimen of Offa's gold coinage.

There are several mistakes in the Arabic legend on the coin, showing the engraver of the die was not an Arab and knew nothing of Arabic. The coin is clearly an imitation of the dinar of el Mansur, struck in the year 157 A.H.–774 A.D.

Yours faithfully,

HERBERT E. E. HAYES.

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AN INTERESTING DOCUMENT ON THE BAB

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URUMIA, PERSIA,
August 28th, 1914.

To the Editor of THE MOSLEM WORLD.

I FOUND the following memorandum among the papers of my father, the Rev. J. H. Shedd, D.D. The record was made sometime between 1860 and 1870, perhaps in 1861, when Dr. Cormick spent the summer or part of it in Salmas, where my father was then stationed, and they saw a good deal of each other. Dr. Cormick was an English physician, who for a number of years lived in Tabriz, having there a large medical practice and being much esteemed. The events referred to took place in Tabriz some time before the execution of the Bab in July, 1850, probably at the time of his first examination in Tabriz. Probably no other European had an interview with the Bab, and certainly no other record of such an interview is extant.

DR. CORMICK ON THE BAB. PERSONAL INTERVIEW.

You ask me for some particulars of my interview with the founder of the sect known as Babis. Nothing of any importance transpired at this interview, as Bab was aware of my having been sent with two Persian doctors to see whether he was of sane mind or merely a madman, to decide the question whether to put him to death or not. With this knowledge he was loath to answer any questions put to him. To all inquiries he merely regarded us with a mild look, chanting in a low, melodious voice some hymns, I suppose. Two other sayyids, his intimate friends, were also present, who subsequently were put to death with him, besides a couple of government officers. He only once deigned to answer me, on my saying that I was not a Mussulman and was willing to know something about his religion, as I might perhaps be inclined to adopt it. He regarded me very intently on my saying this, and replied that he had no doubt of all Europeans coming over

to his religion. Our report to the Shah was at that time of a nature to spare his life. He was put to death some time after by order of the Amir i Nizam, Mirza Taqi Khan. On our report he merely got the bastinade, in which operation a farash, whether intentionally or not, struck him across the face with a stick destined for his feet, which produced a great wound and swelling of his face. On being asked whether a Persian surgeon should be brought to treat him, he expressed a desire that I would be sent for, and I accordingly treated him for a few days ; but in the interviews consequent on this I could never get him to have a confidential chat with me, as some government people were always present, he being a prisoner. He was very thankful for my attentions to him. He was a very mild and delicate-looking man, rather small in stature, and very fair for a Persian, with a melodious, soft voice, which struck me very much. Being a sayyid he was dressed in the habit of that sect, as were also his two companions. In fact, his whole look and deportment went far to dispose one in his favour. Of his doctrines I heard nothing from his own lips, although the idea was that there existed in his religion a certain approach to Christianity. He was seen by some Armenian carpenters, who were sent to make some repairs in his prison, reading the Bible, and he took no pains to conceal it, but on the contrary told them of it. Most assuredly the Mussulman fanaticism does not exist in his religion, as applied to Christians, nor is there that restraint of females that now exists.

Yours truly,

W. A. Shedd.

The Moslem World

VOL. V APRIL, 1915 No. 2

EDITORIAL

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IT seems to be the teaching of the parable of the sower that fruitfulness depends upon the character of the soil as well as on that of the seed. A broken and a contrite heart receives the very message of God which can find no entrance in the heart hardened by sin and unbelief or pride. The ploughman must, therefore, precede the reaper and break up the fallow ground preparatory to the sowing. The oldest, the most universal, and the most indispensable tool of good husbandry is the plough.

There is no more fitting symbol of pioneer mission work than that of the ploughman. Paul himself must have felt it on his long missionary journeys when he wrote to the Corinthian Church, "He that plougheth ought to plough in hope." It is a laborious task. To drive the plough through the virgin soil, to remove obstacles, to break up, to let in the air and the light—all this is a work of necessity. It is the preparatory ministry to those who bear the seed-basket and who will once come home rejoicing, bringing their sheaves with them.

Great sections of the Moslem world are still virgin soil. There are portions of Central Africa and of Central Asia to which the words of Livingstone, God's ploughman, still apply: "The end of the geographical feat is the beginning of the missionary enterprise." One has only to read the travels of Sven Hedin to see how much fallow ground there still is in Chinese Turkestan, in Afghanistan and its borders, awaiting missionary occupation. The tour of exploration into some new district, the mapping

out of a field for future effort, the opening of a dispensary in some new centre of population, of a book and Bible depôt at the cross-roads of commerce—all these are missionary methods for breaking the virgin soil of prejudice or misunderstanding and preparing a lodging-place for the seed of Truth.

God's providence is also a plough. It is His method that the nation and the individual shall learn righteousness when His judgments are in the earth. After the earthquake, and the fire, and the tempest, men hear the still, small voice, which had spoken before and to which they had given a deaf ear. The breaking up of Turkey is more than a phase of politics. It may mean the preparation of heart and the readiness to hear, the spiritual accessibility and responsiveness of a whole people. We must not dread God's ploughshare.

"The ploughing of the Lord is deep
On ocean or on land;
His furrows cross the mountain steep,
They cross the sea-washed sand.
Wise men and prophets know not how,
But work their Master's will;
The kings and nations drag the plough
His purpose to fulfil."

God is hastening His word to perform it, and making the wrath of the folly of men to praise Him. "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that the ploughman shall overtake the reaper." The spiritual forces long latent in what was once the Turkish Empire will yet come to their own, and we may well hope to see a rich harvest where so much has been sown in tears, both of the seed of the Word and of the children of the Kingdom—the martyr church of Armenia.

Ploughing is always hopeful work. The labourer knows that the furrows he makes with so much toil and pains will in due time be covered with golden corn. How different from the digging of trenches at the front of battle, which prophesy only a harvest of death. The hope of the ploughman was never put to shame. At the end of every furrow the eye of faith can catch the vision of garnered sheaves. We must keep our eyes on the future. The Lord of the husbandmen is with us.

No lonely worker at some distant outpost whose hope has been deferred and heart made sick, need be discouraged. Raymund Lull's life is still bearing fruit after six centuries, and the message of that life remains true: "He who lives by the Life cannot die."

Finally, we need to learn the lesson ourselves that the ploughed field is most fruitful. Perhaps at a time like this when our own plans are frustrated and the methods of our work rudely disorganised, it may be only that God is driving the coulter of His plough deeper amid the grass and weeds of our own hearts to tear the clod asunder and cleanse the soil for a new sowing.

"Lord, drive Thy plough through all my pleasant fields,
Howe'er the pleasantness may flee away;
I would be fruitful, Lord—my heart would yield
Some good to Thee when comes Thy harvest day."

S. M. ZWEMER.

A GREETING FROM THE BISHOP IN JERUSALEM

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It is a very real pleasure to have so early an opportunity afforded to me of conveying my greetings to the missionaries in Moslem lands. It is only three months since my Consecration in Westminster Abbey, and I have not yet visited more than a very small portion of the immense diocese which has its centre at Jerusalem, the Mother City of the Faith.

That city, for a time, is closed to all Christian missionaries. Not one remains there, and scarcely any in the whole of Palestine; indeed, we may be thankful that all were able to get safely away, without being sent inland into exile, or held as hostages, or otherwise injured. Jerusalem is now again given over into the hands of wicked men; she is a desolation; but surely we may believe that the times of her deliverance are at hand. These are wonderful days to be living in, especially to all workers amongst Moslems, and there are many signs full of encouragement to us all.

The gradually waning power of Turkey must have a great effect on the whole of the Mohammedan world. The immense loss of prestige during her recent wars—first with Italy and then with the Balkan States—the difficulty the Khalif experiences in holding the allegiance of his subjects, and the prospect of Turkey—the only Moslem state that can still be called an Empire—losing the right to call herself anything of the sort, must naturally be omens of terrible significance to all Mohammedans.

Yet with their loss comes the day of our opportunity, especially in these Bible lands. I believe that after this

war the hearts of Moslems will be open as never before to Christian influences, and if the nations of the West turn back to God with sincere and penitent hearts they will experience such a revival of spiritual life as has not been seen for a hundred years, and will be ready to pass on to their brothers and sisters of the East the message of salvation through Christ with renewed and redoubled power.

Let us, therefore, be preparing ourselves now so that we may be ready when the day comes. We can prepare whether we are at work or not. Some of you to whom I write are now withdrawn from your stations, and have to wait—no one can tell how long—until you may get back to the work you love.

One of the hardest of all lessons for a Christian worker to learn is to wait with constant patience and cheerfulness. Do not then let these days pass as days that must necessarily be wasted, or occupied only with such temporary duties as you may be able to take up, but rather regard them as a precious trust, as days given to you by God for the preparation of your soul, the growth of your spiritual power, and thus the eternal betterment of the work to which you shall eventually return.

The missionaries who are still at work, whether their spheres be in any way restricted or not, can equally be looking forward to the day when the great advance shall be sounded.

Therefore, let us all alike prepare our hearts for the countless opportunities which I am convinced will be pressing themselves upon us within a very few years. Let us remember that it is above all things by our lives that we shall influence these multitudes, rather than by our words—be they never so eloquent—or by our works —be they never so many or so various.

By the reality of our Christian life, by the harmony in which we work together, by the way in which we put aside petty jealousies, self-seeking or pride, "by this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one to another." And if we are known as His disciples, we shall be able to draw all men unto Him.

RAYMUND LULL, THE MISSIONARY

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NEXT midsummer will see the completion of six centuries since Raymund Lull sealed by a martyr's death his enthusiastic longing to bring the Moslems to the knowledge and love of God in Christ. It was his native land of Spain which for centuries had known the rule of the Saracen, and within its borders when he died the Moorish Kingdom of Granada was still to carry on that dominance for nearly two hundred years. Familiarity and neighbourhood of differing religions act in different ways on different natures. In some cases there is a latitudinarian indifference, in others an enthusiastic propagandism. The Christian Church has marked the eras of its living faith by an ardent evangelism based upon a sense of the pricelessness of the treasure it possesses. The great problem to be solved is how depth and earnestness are to be combined with breadth and charity. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Crusades, blessed by the Pope, showed what the Church deemed the best way of dealing with Mohammedans. All the more remarkable is it to discover, right in the midst of the same epoch, the great personality of a true missionary, at once broad and deep, loving and learned, persuasive and confident, rational and fervid. Lull really belongs in spirit much more to the missions of our own day than of his own, and the lessons of his life are as valuable for the twentieth century as for the fourteenth.

For him, as for all Christian missionaries, the starting point of enthusiasm was the living experience of the converting power of the Holy Spirit. The gay courtier, the devotee of sensual pleasure was suddenly smitten by the intolerable light of the Vision of Christ. The

reversal of life was as complete as in the case of St. Paul. "Follow me henceforth," the Figure on the Cross had said. The sense of sin came home, the convicted sinner was appalled by his inability to obey and persevere, until the old simple teaching of childhood came back with new force, "Christ is all-patient and pitiful; He invites all sinners to Himself; therefore He will not reject me, sinner though I be." The Pilgrim saw the Cross; his loosened burden rolled away and was seen no more. All missionary enthusiasm is born at the foot of the Cross; there Lull made his renunciation. It was characteristic of his sanity that he took time to decide the method of his service. The pattern of St. Francis was revealed to him upon the Mount, and, unhesitating, he built his Tabernacle on that model; he gave up all. "Since," prayed he, "I approach Thee humbly with this gift and sacrifice, may it please Thee to condescend to accept all that I offer, that I and my wife and children may be Thy humble slaves." From that hour the experience of a new life was his constantly. He knew in Whom he had believed. Loneliness, shipwreck, perils of false brethren, dangers from savage foes—all these were the light afflictions of a moment. He had within him the eternal weight of glory.

Such living experience could have but one outlet. "Much do I wonder," he wrote, "concerning men who are in the true way; how it can be that after they have received the gift of true life they do not attempt to help those who are outside the truth into the true way." Where Love burns, its fire spreads; he who loves God with all his heart loves his neighbour too. The first instinct of the soul that knows itself forgiven is to hand on the knowledge.

> "The arms of Love that compass me
> Would all mankind embrace."

It has always been so, but too often has the eagerness of love not realised the need of preparatory industry. One danger of a certain type of evangelicalism has been distrust of the intellect. The simple witness of godly

but uneducated people has its place in any missionary scheme, but most truly does that man express his sense of the dignity of the Divine call, who fits himself most thoroughly, intellectually as well as spiritually, for the difficult work of leading a man to change his religion. Raymund Lull, Seneschal of the Majorcan Court, skilled in popular Catalan verse, turned to God at thirty, and determined to devote his life to spreading the Gospel. But, instead of going at once, he set himself to years of severe study in Arabic and in philosophy. It is by such patience and thoroughness that the missionary will win the respect of those he seeks ; it is with such an offering that it is seemly to approach God. We, too, like David of old, should not present offerings to Him that cost us nothing. What Lull practised in his own case he sought to make possible for all missionaries. He never ceased to urge upon Pope and monarchs the foundation of Colleges for the study of missionary languages. The attempts made by his own King were but partially successful, owing to the lack of perseverance of the students. It was not until the Council of Vienne, in 1311, that finally was ordained the appointment of teachers in Hebrew, Greek, Arabic and Chaldee in the Universities of Rome, Oxford, Bologna, Salamanca and Paris. It is interesting to an Englishman to realise that the Hebrew Professorship at Oxford was originally due to a missionary motive.

Out of this long intellectual preparation there came to this great missionary the idea of a book which should irresistibly prove to all unbelievers the reality of the Christian creed. To readers of to-day the elaborate methods of the *Ars Magna* and the *Arbor Scientiae*, their superimposed circles, their trees, branches and twigs seem barren logical word-chopping. But to Lull they appeared so certain of success in carrying conviction that he genuinely believed that he had received them by inspiration from on high. At any rate, in an age when the sword was used on the one side to compel worship at the Cross as freely as on the other to force obedience to the Prophet, Lull paid his doctrine and his brother man the compliment of believing that to be intellectually

convinced was sufficient to insure conversion; and this may seem to us to have been indeed a teaching from God.

Lull was centuries before his age—or centuries behind it, for he appealed to the first age of the Church. Listen to his passionate plea, "It is my belief, oh Christ, that the conquest of the Holy Land should be attempted in no other way than as Thou and Thine Apostles undertook to accomplish it—by love, by prayer, by tears and the offering up of our own lives." His eager mind reached out into all domains of thought, and he applied his method to the tabulating of all knowledge, mathematical, scientific, literary, as well as theological. He lectured on this art in Paris and the smaller Universities of Europe, and poured out an unceasing stream of books. His reputation for many centuries past has been mainly for researches in alchemy, testing for the philosopher's stone and the elixir of life. Whether this reputation is due to confusion with another name or not, we can easily believe that such a mind would seek out new things in every domain of human knowledge. At any rate, it was the most ardent disciple of Christ who was amongst the first in every region of the knowledge of the age; the spiritual giant was an intellectual giant, too. He who was most respected amidst the ablest youth of France and Italy was the readiest to lay down his life for the preaching of his Lord.

The University of Paris was, in the Middle Ages, the centre of the thought of the world. Its records preserve for us a glorious letter of Lull's, full of delight in the love of Christ, but also of alarm at the prospect of the conversion of the invading Tartar hordes by Jews or Saracens. He dwells upon the number of these Tartars as possible Mohammedans, and reminds his readers of the loss of a third part of Christianity after the conversion of the Saracens themselves. He thus found additional argument for his scheme of missionary Colleges, for which he implored both the University and Philip the Fair. Thus does Lull's sense of urgency cry across the centuries to his successors working in Mohammedan lands to-day, for we see the same peril as he did, and

the same propagandist emulation between the two religions. In Paris also the missionary did mighty battle with the philosophy of Averroes, which by many subtle changes had passed downwards and sideways from the original teaching of Aristotle, preserved in Arabic during the eclipse of Greek in Europe. By it finally the Divine was removed to an infinite distance, the individual man lost his immortality, and things might be true in faith though false in philosophy. The mind of the man whose method sought to systematise all knowledge, who had caught glimpses of the great unity of Nature, who saw the same Hand at work in the material and moral Universe, fought with all its might against these tenets, especially the last, which was to him the final treason against truth. To him it was clear that any mental system must inevitably die which built up watertight compartments where religion could be segregated from the ordinary laws of thought. To him essentially God is not a God of disorder, and reason is never inconsistent with faith. The realisation of this truth made Lull the mental and spiritual ancestor of many who in later days claimed freedom and frequently had to pay for it with their blood. It has been well pointed out how much more he was a Catholic than merely a Roman Christian. We find him using the terms of his age when he speaks of the Eucharist thus: "Has there ever been anything of wonder or any humility to compare with this—that bread and wine become Thy holy humanity which was united with Deity, and that Thy body, all noble as it is, permits itself to be eaten and handled by poor, sinful man." But even here and always he is remote from the materialisation, which is the travesty of the Real Presence, and in his maxims of devotion we realise how the saints of every form of Christianity are all of the same Church. We notice, too, that Lull is one in that great chain, linking the ages, of laymen who waited for no consecrating hands, no orders, before they went forth as missionaries. When the Church is truly living, its laity will feel the call of God to a universal evangelism. There are times when Priest and Levite fail, but a layman does God's will and lives the life of love.

Another lesson taught the Church by the consecrated common sense of Lull was the power of the vernacular as a missionary agency. Again and again has the emergence of the Evangelist out of the shadow of a learned language into the speech of the common people not only uplifted that people, but also ultimately bestowed a new dignity upon the vernacular itself. What Wyclif did for English and Luther for German, Lull did for Catalan. So the missionary of to-day is enriching the life of the average man by adding mental and spiritual treasures, whether it be in lands of ancient literatures or nations just born into an alphabet.

And, finally, the undying zeal of this man, that yet founded itself on patience, will ever be an object lesson for Christendom. He was fifty-six before he first landed in Africa to preach to Moslems, he returned to Africa when he was seventy-one, and he was eighty when he went again and was martyred at Bugia.

He is the possession of no one section but of the whole Church Catholic of God. He loved with his whole being, with his mind as well as his heart, with all his might. His motto inspires every missionary to-day:

> "He that loves not lives not;
> He that lives by the Life cannot die."

W. T. A. Barber, D.D.

Cambridge.

THE UNFINISHED TASK OF RAYMUND LULL

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THE memory and example of Raymund Lull should come as a loud call of God to His Church in this our day adequately to occupy and evangelise the Moslem lands for which he laid down his life.

Bougie (Bugia), the town where he suffered martyrdom, is situated 106 miles east of Algiers. It is the port of Eastern Kabylia, and, once the railway between it and Setif is made, it will become the natural outlet for the rich corn-lands of the western part of the Département of Constantine. It is at the opening of a valley running south-west from the coast and dividing Great Kabylia on the west from Little Kabylia on the east. These two parts of Kabylia are thus distinguished because of the greater altitude of the mountains of Great Kabylia, the Djurjura, many peaks of which are snow-capped for four months in the year. The soil of Kabylia is comparatively poor, but the whole region is thickly populated. There are thousands of villages built on the slopes and summits of the mountains. From one of these heights it is a most picturesque scene that spreads before one's view—a dozen or twenty villages with tiled roofs appear among the dark-green foliage of the olive trees. The population is more hardy and industrious than the Arabs of the plains and towns, and more open, generally, to European education and influence. In their native villages, unless there be a French school established, they are most woefully ignorant, and viewed from the standpoint of what they may become, lamentably wretched.

Bougie, the town where one of the first attempts was made to reconquer North Africa for Christ, by love

and not by force of arms, may, therefore, be regarded as representing the Kabyles and the Berber race, of which they form an important part. Descendants of this aboriginal race are found from the borders of Egypt to the Atlantic, and from the Mediterranean to the Soudan. They are known to-day as Kabyles, Shawia, Beni M'zab (who are of the Ibadiah sect), in Algeria, who speak dialects of Berber, besides many Berber tribes in different parts of the country, who speak Arabic ; probably the Djeraba and Djebalia of Tunisia ; the Riffs and Shilha of Morocco and the Toureg of the desert. These Berbers, as a whole, were little touched by Phœnician or Roman civilisation. How far Christianity reached them it is hard to say. Those brought under its influence would be those already under Roman civilisation, for the North African Church was Latin in language. No translation of the Scriptures or any religious literature was made in any Berber dialect until the establishment of modern missions in North Africa.

If to the purer Berbers we add the descendants of the Arab conquerors and those of mixed Arab and Berber descent, we have the total Moslem population of the Barbary States.

From the martyrdom of Raymund Lull till the French occupation of Algeria, nothing was done to follow up the commencement made by him at Bougie and Tunis, nor was it scarcely possible under a tyrannical and fanatical Moslem rule. But to-day the old Barbary States are administered by European powers—France, Spain and Italy ; so that the door stands wide open. This fact and opportunity is another call of God to continue the unfinished task of Lull.

During the famine of 1867 Cardinal Lavigerie, Archbishop of Algiers and Carthage, and Primate of the Roman Communion for Africa, rescued a number of young Arabs, who were brought up as Christians. In 1874 he founded two villages, St. Cyprien and Ste. Monica, for these Arab Christians. They are agricultural villages under ecclesiastical control.

The Cardinal also founded the missionary order of the " White Fathers," for the conversion of the remote

regions of Central Africa. They have a Monastery for novices at Maison Carrée, near Algiers, and a Seminary at Carthage. These "White Fathers" wear the Arab costume, and learn Arabic. Some of them have gone to Uganda and others to Timbuctoo. They have also several establishments in Kabylia, as have also a corresponding sisterhood. I have heard that at one of these stations the Gospels, translated into Kabyle by M. Cuendet, of the North Africa Mission, were used.

The first direct Protestant effort to reach the Moslems of the Barbary States was made in 1881, when the "Mission to the Kabyles" was founded, afterwards reorganised under the name of the North Africa Mission. Its first station, Djema' Sahridj, in Great Kabylia, has had much blessing. Work has also been carried on among the Kabyles in Algiers, where M. Cuendet, the "doyen" of Protestant missionaries in North Africa, Egypt excluded, has translated the whole Bible into Kabyle. The New Testament and portions of the Old have been published by the British and Foreign Bible Society. The North Africa Mission has recently opened another station in Kabylia.

The French Wesleyans began work in Bougie in 1886. The workers afterwards removed to Il-Mathen, a village higher up the valley.

The Open Brethren (Echoes of Service Mission) have four stations in Kabylia, in which solid work is being done. One of these stations has only recently been opened up in Bougie.

The American Mission (Methodist Episcopal) has a station at Fort National, a military centre, which dominates Great Kabylia. There is also a prosperous work among Kabyle women and girls at Algiers. This mission aims at getting an increasing staff of native workers. There are four Kabyles at present working among their brethren, besides five Arabs working among Arabs.

There is also a French missionary working among the Kabyles at Tizi Ouzou, the principal town of Great Kabylia (1,500 inhabitants, but centre of a commune of 31,400).

The limits of this article will not permit of mentioning

the work of the different missions among the Arabic-speaking Moslems. (See the article by Wm. J. W. Roome on the "Dead Weight of Islam in North Africa," in the *Moslem World* for January, 1915).

Besides the ordinary evangelistic work in classes, regular meetings and itineration, the methods employed have been medical and dispensary work, and the establishing of Homes for orphans or very poor children. The Raymund Lull Home at Tangier* was perhaps the first attempt at this method of work by Protestant Missions. The North Africa Mission has had a home for girls for some years at Djema' Sahridj. The American Mission has homes for boys and also for girls in Algiers, Constantine and Tunis, six in all. It is felt that by this means it will be easier to get the fit kind of native worker. At Dra-el-Mizan the Open Brethren have also a home for Kabyle children.

Besides the Bible in Kabyle mentioned above, and the Bible in Literary Arabic and other literature in that language, there are several portions of the New Testament and other literature in the Modern Arabic speech. These Scripture portions have had a wide circulation in Algeria, nearly 25,000 in six years. The field is white already to harvest.

No definite mission work, to the knowledge of the writer, has been begun among any other Berber people of North Africa. Beyond the work just opened in Bougie, no missionary is established even in Little Kabylia, which extends along the coast from Bougie to Philippeville and inland to the High Plateaux. Part of the inhabitants of this district speak a dialect of Kabyle, while others of the Berber tribes speak Arabic. South of Constantine, the Shawia have spread out from the Aures Mountains northwards to within twenty or thirty miles of that city. The Shawia who do not live in the Aures mountains, speak Arabic as well as their own dialect. Those in the mountains speak only their Berber tongue.

Here in Algeria alone is a vast field, almost entirely unoccupied. Surely the great need, together with the

*Cf., Notes on Current Topics, p. 197.

memory and example of Raymund Lull, and the exceptional opportunities offered by the present conditions of this land, constitute a clear, definite call to the Church of God to enter in and take possession. I would appeal for at least one fully-qualified missionary each from England and America during 1915 in commemoration of Raymund Lull and the 600th anniversary of his martyrdom at Bougie. Who can imagine what the 700th anniversary will see ?

Constantine,
Algeria.

PERCY SMITH.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND ISLAM*

——:o:——

In order to determine accurately the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church towards Islam, we shall first analyse, upon the authority of official documents and in particular of papal bulls,† what have been the general directions given by the Popes to the Christian world in its relation to Islam.

Then, we shall study the present practical interpretation of these papal directions according to the apostolic method of the latest catholic religious order to whom is allotted the Moslem world—*the White Fathers.*

I.

General Papal directions in reference to Islam

This study will be divided according to the order of the Catholic canonists into three parts following the threefold power which the Pope, the Vicar of Christ, wields as head of the hierarchy : *ruling power* (*imperium*), *sanctifying power* (*ministerium*), *doctrinal power* (*magisterium*).

By the jurisdiction of the *imperium* are determined the political and foreign relations of independent Christianity with Islam.

* Translated from the French. While we view both the religious and political relations of Christianity and Islam from a different standpoint as compared with that of our esteemed contributor, M. Louis Massignon, of Paris, we feel sure that all serious students of the questions involved will be grateful for his scholarly exposition of the policy and thought carried out by the authorities of the most numerous Church of Christendom, which has produced and still sends out so many devoted missionaries.—Ed.

† The reports of Mansi (*Concil*), of Jaffé and Löwenfeld (*Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*). Comp. Reinhold Röhricht, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Hamburg, 1891, p. 359 seq.

To the jurisdiction of the *ministerium* belong the support and development of the hierarchy and of the worship in churches under Mohammedan temporal rule.

To the jurisdiction of the *magisterium* belong the determining of the dogmatic errors of Islam and the organisation of the evangelisation of the Moslems themselves.

A. *Imperium*

The papal ruling power has based the outward relations between Christianity and Islam on the following principle, deduced from St. Paul's statement of the promise made to Abraham. Christians are the true *heirs* of Abraham, to the exclusion of Moslems and Jews.* Just as Ishmael has been excluded for Isaac's benefit,† so the Mosaic synagogue and the Moslem community have been excluded for the benefit of the Christian *Ecclesia.*‡ This heritage of Abraham includes a twofold promise by God: that of the Messiah§ and that of the land of Canaan.‖ The Christians alone have "received" the Messiah, they own Him and live in Him by the sacraments of the church; they, too, alone have a right to the earthly inheritance, the *Promised Land*, the "Terra Sancta," where Jesus, the Holy One of Israel, was born and where He died. They must take it back from the present possessors, the Moslem Arabs of the seed of Abraham by Ishmael, son of Hagar; for these "Hagarenes," "Ishmaelites," these "sons of the bondwoman" are there only to perpetuate the truth of the divine promise until the return of the legitimate heir.¶

Such is the scriptural principle of the Crusades, formulated by the B. Urban II. at the Synod of Clermont (18-28 November, 1095): "Ejice ancillam hanc, et

* Cf., the medieval parable of the "Three Rings."

† *Gen.* xvii. 16-21.

‡ Hagar is the symbol of the Mosaic law according to St. Paul.

§ *Gen.* xii. 3; xviii. 18. ‖ *Gen.* xii. 7; xiii. 15; xvii. 8.

¶ All that has been somewhat strangely, but powerfully emphasised by Guillaume Postel (p. 1581) in his "Histoire . . . de l'origine . . . des Ismaélites . . . Sarrazins," Poitiers, 1560.

filium ejus" (Gen. xxi. 10),*; and the same principle was reiterated by thousands of papal bulls up to the time of Nicolas V., especially in those of Innocent III. and Honorius III.

Consequently, after two centuries of struggle to save the Italian Christians from the Musalmans (Saracens),—after Ostia (Leo IV., 855) and Garigliano (John X., 916), before Mahdiyah (Victor III., 1087),—the Pope St. Gregory VII., practical director of the policy of the Christian world,† proposed‡ the conquest of the Holy Land as the aim of a policy of universal agreement of the Christian princes. One knows what happened; it not only broke the force of Islam which was threatening independent Christianity on both sides, from Spain (Almoravides) and Asia Minor (Seljûgides); but it also helped the Christian sects under Moslem temporal rule, the Syrians, Copts, Greeks, Armenians, and those in the Balkan peninsula; it restored their hope and saved them from the slow death which killed those of Arabia (Najrân, Petra, Kinda, Hirah) and of the Maghreb (Bona, Gal'ah Banî Hammâd). When the Crusades were abandoned for fratricidal wars among the Christian princes, the Popes organised the evacuation of the Holy Land and the retreat, and prevented it from turning to disaster. Faced by the new offensive of Islam, the "Turkish peril," the papal policy held its own in a hand to hand struggle at the Propontis (John XXII., 1334), Smyrna (Clement VI., 1344), Rhodes and Malta (Knights Hospitallers), Nicopolis (Urban V., 1396), Varna (Eugenius IV., 1444),§ Belgrade (Calixtus III., 1456), Otranto

* Cf., Mansi xx. 822-826.

† The Church has not only the final authority in cases of conscience and in cases of social justice, but she has the right to call to the aid of the service of God the sword of the temporal power. Cf., the solemn institution of the military religious orders and the formula for the consecration of new knights in the "Pontifical Romain" (Dom Gréa).

‡ Six letters by Gregory VII. for the defence of the Greek empire, written in 1074.

§ As supreme head, the Pope had broken the truce concluded by the King of Hungary with the Sultan Murad II. to the detriment of the Christian sects in the Balkans. But the king was defeated and killed at Varna.

(Sixtus IV., 1480), Lepanto (St. Pius V., 1571), Vienna (Innocent XI., 1583),* and Peterwardin (Clement XI., 1716). Belgrade, Lepanto, Vienna, these three unexpected victories, inspired by the spirit of the Crusades, eventually saved Western Christianity. Since then, little by little, the Eastern churches have regained their autonomy, and their independence. This movement of emancipation is not yet completed; there are still Christians under Moslem governments, and the Holy Land belongs still to the "sons of the bondwoman." But the Caliphate has been obliged to recognise officially the autonomy of the Christian sects in Turkey by the treaty of Berlin (1879, article 62 for the Catholic Church).

B. *Ministerium*

The sanctifying power of the supreme hierarchy of the church was manifested towards Islam in three ways:

I. By arming the Universal Church with *spiritual* forces necessary to overcome the mysterious spread of Islam.

In proclaiming the first crusade (1095) the B. Urban II. granted to all, clerics and laymen, the first general *Plenary indulgence*, that of the pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. Everyone knows the celebrated vision in which St. Christina Mirabilis of St. Truiden (†1224) saw the triumphant entry into glory of the souls of the crusaders who had been defeated and killed at the last battle, at Hattin (1187).† When the Holy Land was lost the benefit of this Plenary indulgence was extended to all the "*Stations of the Cross*" (Viae Crucis), consecrated in all the parish churches and chapels throughout the world. It was also the B. Urban II.‡ who ordained that all the clergy whose duty it was to repeat the canonical office daily should add to it the *Officium Beatae Virginis*§ (Our Lady's Hours). This obligation which, in the

* On the importance of these last victories for the liturgy, see further on.

† As G. K. Chesterton says, "The Cross cannot be defeated, for the Cross is Defeat."

‡ They also attribute to him for the same reason the order for the recitation of the *Angelus*, twice a day, evening and morning.

§ Written by St. Pierre Damien.

Middle Ages, gave a favourable impulse to the veneration of the Virgin, was mitigated by St. Pius V. five centuries later, after Lepanto, and was restricted to the choir only on the days stipulated in the Breviary. And so the liturgy of the church was as last completed by the institution of solemn feast days in perpetual commemoration of the triumphs of Christianity over Islam. If the double feast of *St. Lance* (*feria VI. post Dom. I. Quadrages and feria VI. post octav. Paschae*) only indirectly* commemorates the taking of Antioch (1098)†, at any rate the feast of the *Transfiguration of our Lord* has been fixed on August 6th in memory of the victory of Belgrade (1456), that of *Our Lady of Help* (of Victory) on October 7th in memory of the victory of Lepanto (1571), and it has since been transferred by Clement XI. under the name of *Our Lady of the Rosary* to the first Sunday of October in memory of the victory of Peterwardin (1716); the feast of the *Holy Name of Mary* on September 12th, in memory of the deliverance of Vienna (1683).

II. Again, by keeping up the supernatural life of the sacraments in the churches subjected to the Moslem rule: by the maintenance, the unification and development of the hierarchy.

This preservatory action took three forms. First, the protection of the separatist churches, whose wonderful vitality‡ had withstood the molestations§ of the Moslem governments; this protection finally resulted in the union with Rome of the Maronites (under Lucius III.), Uniat Gregorians (1224), Uniat Armenians (XIV. cent.), Uniat Chaldeans (XVII. cent.), Bulgarian Paulicians,

* Foundation of St. Lance, by St. Berthold.

† The liturgy commemorates September 14th by the feast of the "*exaltation of the Holy Cross.*" The triumphant return (to Jerusalem under Heraclius after the captivity in Babylon) of the true Cross thus shown to the world at the very moment when Islam denied the Atonement by the Cross.

‡ Pointed out by Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, 1914.

§ Besides systematic persecutions; prohibitions of Christians from practising any other trades than those of bankers and physicians (edicts of Motawakkil, Muqtadir).

Uniat Copts, Uniat Greeks, Uniat Syrians; there were even two temporary reunions of the Greek Orthodox (1274 and 1433). Next, the protection of the religious worship of the pilgrims in the Holy Land, at first insufficiently assured by the Genoese and Venetian consuls* was secured, as a consequence of the Franco-Turkish capitulations (1536) by France, to whom the Holy See granted the general protectorate over the Christian sects in the East. Then, the organisation of the religious worship of the Christian prisoners, which the Pope entrusted to special orders for the ransom of captives, Trinitarians and Brothers of Mercy.† From the thirteenth century the Popes have been able to divide gradually the Moslem territories into countries of missions under bishops of special orders, Franciscans (Morocco, Egypt, Syria), Dominicans (Mosul), Carmelites (Ispahan and Bagdad), Jesuits (Damascus), whose duty was to respect the *status quo*,‡ to assure the religious life of the Christian communities without making any propaganda among the neighbouring Musulmans. It is important to draw attention to this fundamental rule which still holds good; the anxiety for the protection of these affiliated sects has prevented the Pope from authorising the missionaries to evangelise the Moslems.

C. *Magisterium*

The doctrinal power of the Popes has distinguished in Islam, in theory, a spiritual power, and, in practice, a temporal power, a distinction ignored by Islam. Theoretically, they have defined and condemned the doctrine of the Islamic state, "the infidel state," par excellence. In practice, they have considered the Moslem princes simply as the *temporal* rulers of nations

* Heyd, *Archives Orient. Latin*, ii. 359 seq.

† Cf., their fourth vow; to substitute themselves for the captives held at ransom.

‡ There is a custom of reciprocal *preventive extradition*; in case of imminent conversion of a Moslem, the Christian community is obliged to leave him at the disposal of his co-religionists for a certain time.

to be evangelised, *Hagarene* Arabs,* sons of Ishmael, Persians and Turks.

(1) In theory, the dogmatic definition of Islam was not formulated by the Popes until the fifteenth century. It was prepared in accordance with three sets of documents: (*a*) the tradition of the two last Greek Melchite Fathers, St. John the Damascene† and Theodore Abucara,‡ and the Greek formulas of abjuration.§ (*b*) The works on Scriptural symbolism which, with the commentary on the Apocalypse, by the B. Joachim, Cistercian Abbot of Flora (A.D. 1202), a book written by special order of Pope Lucius III., led to the denunciation of Islam founded by Mohammed as the antitype of this "*Antichristus*," whose advent St. Gregory the Great (604) had announced twenty years before the Hegira. (*c*) The works of Arab erudition and of controversy, compiled by the great orders: among those of the *Benedictines*, the "*Cur Deus Homo*," by St. Anselm of Canterbury, written at Bari against the Saracens; the translations of the *Koran* and of the *Risalah* of Abd el Masîh al Kindi,‖ completed in 1141 by Peter of Toledo for Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny¶; the works of Rupert of Deutz and of Alain of Lille; the theological studies of the Dominican *Motakallimoun* (chiefly in Spain) from the *summa* of Raymund of Penafert, the *Pugio fidei*** of Raymund Marti and the famous *Summa contra gentes* of St. Th. Aquinas†† against Averroism, to the theological Arabic-Latin lexicon by Cañes.‡‡

Pope Pius II., in his address at the Synod of Mantua

* The whole "calling" of the Arab race is reconstructed in this "fugitive" *Hagar*, whose "flight" to the desert is only "repeated" in the "Hegira" of Mohammed (same Semitic root H.G.R.).

† Ed., Migne. ‡ Ed., Graf.

§ Ed., Sylbury; re-ed., Moutet.

‖ Cf., W. Muir, "*The Apology of Al Kindy*" and the Latin MSS. Paris, 3393, 3649.

¶ Ed., Bibliander, 1543.

**Meneudez y Pelayo showed the philosophical importance of this work which has made use of Al Ghazali and influenced Pascal.

††And his "*de Unitate intellectus.*"

‡‡An author of the XVIIIth century.

(September 26th, 1459), and especially in his "*Réponse à Mahomet II.*" (1462), was the first who gave an elaborate dogmatic definition of Islam and its errors. He based it on "*de cribratione Alchorani,*" by Cardinal Nicolas of Cusa, whose documentary evidence and method were revised by L. Marracci in his "*Prodromus*" (1696).

It is to be noticed that we do not here acknowledge comparisons instituted between certain articles of the Catholic faith and certain Islamic theses, such as the immaculate conception of the Virgin and *Nur Mohammadiyah*, the adoration of the Virgin and *Ṣalât 'ala al Nabî*, the doctrine of infallibility and *ta'lim* (*imâm ma'ṣoum*), the rosary and *tasbîḥ*, the scapulary and *Khirqah Khiḍrîyah*, the Aristotelism of Thomas Aquinas and the *Kalâm* of Averroes. These ideas, products of rational thought applied to religious facts, have remained in Islam as a mere aberration, an adventitious growth; whereas in the structure of Catholic dogmas, they form an integral part of a logical system. They form in Islam an historical and personal feature of worship, in Catholicism a sacramental source of grace precisely defined.*

On the other hand, we refuse to accept the idea maintained by d'Herbelot and Swirnow,† that Moslem heresies, such as those of Al Ḥallâj († 922), of Al Shoshtari († 1269)‡, of Ibn Simâwnah († 1415), and of Qâbiḍ († 1527), may be explained as the result of Christian influences. It is as a result of personal and rational mental effort in reconstructing Islamic dogma from within, after an alteration in the interdependence of its main ideas, that these four men finally arrived at doctrinal statements of a Christian tendency.§

* We are not even sure, in spite of the arguments of Asín Palacios, that the theories of Raymund Lull are borrowed from the works of Ibn Árabi. As to the famous "perinde ac cadaver" of Sahl Tostari (cf., Richard Hartmann, "*Ḳushairi,*" 1914, p. 103), the Jesuits have not borrowed it from him.

† *Oriental International Congress*, 1897, p. 143.

‡ *Qaṣîdah 'Isawiyah* (Ms. As'ad, 3606).

§ With this are connected the wonderful researches of Asín Palacios on the Christian elements of the mystical theories of Al Ghazâlî. It is in the purely analogous sense of the term that Goldziher has been able to use the title, "*Katholische Tendenz im Islam,*" for his essay on Al Tawfi and the Moslem theologians who are opposed to the principle of variation in tradition, "*Ikhtilâf al ommah raḥmah*" (Upsala, 1913).

(2) In practice, the diplomatic activity of the Popes has aimed exclusively at the conversion of Moslem *princes*, this being the only means to gain a mass movement towards Christianity.* Legates were instructed to aim at the conversion of certain Ayyoubites (1211, 1213), of the Seljûgides of Qonyah (1170, 1234, 1235, 1256, 1257), of the Mongul Khans of Persia and even of the Ottoman Sultans of Turkey (1462). As to that evangelisation of individuals, the papal order has always been to maintain an attitude of expectancy. There have been here and there isolated attempts at proselytism; that of the Benedictines of Spain (cf., Silos, Montserrat Compostella), leading to the martyrdom of Mozarabites at Cordova (851) and to the conversion of Emir Omar ibn Hafsoun; that of the Franciscans: St. Francis of Assisi at Damietta, the protomartyrs of the order at Merrâkesh, the B. Raymund Lull (1315),† after that of the B. Pierre Armengol (of la Merci, 1304) at Bugia, St. Pierre Pascal at Jaen, St. Joseph de Léonissa; that of some Carmelites, such as the Carmelite Mary of Jesus Crucified, known as the bearer of the stigmata of Bethlehem (1878).‡ These heroic attempts at proselytism have remained isolated.

Until this day, the Popes have refused§ to co-ordinate these enterprises by a special apostolic mission, judging that the autonomy of the Christian sects under Moslem rule was still too precarious, and that it was necessary above all to "keep the deposit"; they have postponed to this day the institution of a public organised preaching of the Gospel in Moslem territory. In fact, the most valiant servants of the church, St. Peter of Damascus (743), St. Francis of Assisi at Damietta,

* Isolated converts are excluded *ipso facto* from the *Moslem community*, and are obliged to exile themselves (if they are not killed before); they cannot found families in the same place.

† On his "college for oriental studies" (Mallorea) and his controversial books, see Littré and Haurésu, Audré, and Zwemer's biographies.

‡ "Life," by Lady Herbert; Montpellier and Pau, 1889.

§ One of them, St. Pius V., sought by private correspondence to win back the renegade Lucchiali ('Ilj 'Ali), one of the commandants of the Turkish fleet before Lepanto.

Christopher Columbus at Grenada (1492), St. Ignatius Loyola at Jerusalem, St. Francis Xavier in India, St. Vincent of Paul at Lagoulette, have flung themselves upon Islam without shaking it. Leon XIII. only thought it advisable to encourage the indirect works of education and charity established by the missionaries for the Moslems by commending them to the Sultan (1879). The entirely Moslem countries of Afghanistan and Arabia are the last under Moslem rule still deprived of the spiritual intercession of the Catholic episcopal hierarchy; there is not yet a bishop *in partibus* at Mecca.

II.

The Missionary Method of the White Fathers

Let us examine in particular the work on Mohammedan territory of the latest of Catholic orders, the *White Fathers*. The order was founded under the name of "The African Missionary Society" at Maison-Carrée (near Algiers), by Mgr. Lavigerie, cardinal archbishop of Algiers and approved by Pius IX., and at its head is Mgr. Livinhac (assisted by the Rev. F. Voillard). They took upon them the spiritual welfare of the infidels living on the Moslem territory, which, through the conquest of Algiers, had become French.

Work for the conversion of their Moslem brethren of the colonies of their mother-country is, indeed, an imperative duty upon the Catholics of every nation. Mgr. Lavigerie had concentrated his activity on the Maghreb and on the Sahara, where he had hoped to establish a military religious order, the *Armed Brothers* (of the Beit Allah, Biskra). Forty years have passed, and we see that the efforts of the White Fathers, turned aside by unforseen obstacles, have flanked Islam instead of making a frontal attack. They are working to conquer the principal negro races for Christ before the threatening propaganda of Islam has reached them. Their finest missions are in the region of the great equatorial lakes, which Islam was near conquering by converting the kings of Uganda and by the wars of Tippo-Tib. The White Fathers have now a threefold field of work* :—

* Statistics of 1913, communicated by the Order.

I. *Great Lakes :*

(1) Northern Nyanza (Uganda) : 30 stations (one preliminary and 1 secondary seminary).

(2) Southern Nyanza : 14 stations.

(3) Ounyayembe : 9 stations.

(4) Tanganika : 13 stations (one primary and one secondary seminary).

(5) Upper Congo : 11 stations.

(6) Kivou : 15 stations.

(7) Nyassa : 5 stations.

(8) Bangouolo : 7 stations.

II. *Jerusalem.* Greek Catholic seminary of St. Anne : 24 tutors and 104 pupils.

III. *Algeria and Sudan.*

(1) Missions in Kabylia and in Aurés.

(2) Mission districts in the Sahara and in the Sudan, including the mission prefecture of Ghardaïa.

It is only in this third sphere of activity, Kabylia, Aurés and Ghardaïa, that the stations of the White Fathers have been founded in the midst of Islam.* We shall, therefore, study this one only.

It is divided into six sections (on Musulman territory) :

(*a*) Section of the Chelif : 2 stations : St. Cyprian and St. Monica of the Attafs : 7 missionaries, 21 sisters, 290 converts.

(*b*) Section of Kabylia : 7 stations : Beni-Mengalet, Beni-Yenni, Taymount-Azouz, Ouadhias, Beni Ismail, Ighil Ali, Kerrata : 39 missionaries, 41 sisters, 11 catechists, 689 converts.

(*c*) Section of Aurés : 3 stations : Arris, Medina, Djemaa-Sahridj : 9 missionaries, 19 sisters, 14 converts.

(*d*) Section of Tunisia : 1 station, St. Joseph of Thibor (between El Kef and Beja), 30 converts.

(*e*) Prefecture of Ghardaïa : 2 stations, Ouargla, Ghardaïa : 8 missionaries, 11 sisters.

(*f*) Tassili of the Touareg Ahaggar : 1 station, Tamañṛâset, hermitage of an independent priest affiliated to the order, the Rev. Father Charles de Jésus (Charles

* The Renoult amendment, presented to the Senate, demands the expulsion of the White Fathers.

de Foucauld).* Eighteen dispensaries, 12 hospices, 3 hospitals in all.

The 29 schools were closed by the government last spring.

In these countries, particularly difficult to evangelise because of both the local fanaticism and the anti-clerical laws of the government, the progress of evangelisation follows three stages appointed by the "supérieurs."†

(1) At first, and as long as it is thought necessary, comes a period of contemplation, during which the missionaries work especially at their personal sanctification by prayer, by "l'adoration réparatrice,"‡ by meditation and penance, limiting their intercourse with the Moslems to direct charity in all its forms—hospitals, dispensaries, hospices, workshops, schools, lazar-houses; they abstain from speaking of religion. When they are questioned on that subject, they answer shortly without entering upon discussion, without even giving an explanation of their belief. The result is that suspicion is allayed; after a few years the missionaries gain the confidence and esteem of the whole population. This is one point gained.

(2) Among this well-disposed population, they address *individually* sincere souls whom they have come to know in their daily intercourse with the natives. These, by their sincere conversion, which demands almost always heroic courage on account of the difficulties of their surroundings, form the nucleus of young Christian communities. This stage, already arrived at in the stations among the Kabyles, is nearly reached by those in the Sahara. The insistance upon religious neutrality deprived the schools of their moral efficacy. In any case, they have just been closed by authority.

* The former explorer of Morocco, author of the celebrated work "Exploration of Morocco," (1883-1888), the basis of the scientific topography of the country.

† Documents transmitted by the Order and by its coadjutors.

‡ The perpetual adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, this source of supernatural life in missions, is entrusted later on to a special body of coadjutors—*e.g.*, the sisters of "Marie Réparatrice" at Entebbe (Uganda). Cf., the spiritual co-operation of the Contemplative Trappists with the missions in China, and of the Carmelites of Algiers with the preliminary efforts of the White Fathers.

(3) The third stage is that of the spread of Christian thought by conversation, by pamphlets, by the work of zealous converts; it has been attempted successfully only in one or two stations.

On this subject one must mention the little Syrian Arabic review of the White Fathers, *al Masarrah*; the Arabic Jesuit Bible of Beyrout; the Translations of the great *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas, of the *Mîzân* of St. Alph. Radriguez, of the "*Imitation of Jesus Christ*"; and a little masterpiece already old, the *Mosâmarât Qorṭajânnah*, by Abbot Bourgade, on the comparison of the Bible and the Qur'ân.

All these writings unfortunately smack of modern translation; they have not the true flavour of classical Arabic.* How much finer is the language of the Greek-Catholic *missal*, and especially certain prayers of the *Book of Hours* (al Sawâ'îyah) of the Greek-Catholics; in these traditional prayers, which are old translations from the biblical writers, the Arabic version almost lends to the devotions of the reader the force of the original Hebrew.

Such are the three stages of evangelisation; the calculated deliberation of the first two stages prepares for the success of the third. Before inviting well-disposed souls to repentance, the missionary must have learnt to conform his whole life to the discipline of his duties, he must have found his place as a "living stone" in the edifice of the church under construction. In order to make their light shine before others, in order to make the Musulman, who is accustomed to deny the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement, appreciate the harmonious structure of the dogma, the undying splendour of the liturgy, the exquisite suitability of piety, it is necessary that the three divine virtues should abide in the heart of the missionaries. In order that they may become "*examples of evangelical life, by showing forth the Gospel in their lives, by being themselves living Gospels, so that in seeing them men may know the meaning of the*

* This is the reproach which the learned Sheikh Mahmud Shukri Alousi made in our presence, at Bagdad, against the Arabic publications of Christian missionaries.

Christian life, the meaning of the Gospel, and may come to know Jesus Himself." Such are the very words of the coadjutor with the White Fathers in Hoggar, the Rev. Father Charles de Foucauld (article xxviii. §5, of the "Rule" of the union of the Brothers and Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, founded in 1909, to co-operate with the mission of the White Fathers). The country of the Tuaregs, to which this order was consecrated, is particularly unapproachable to the mission, and the Rev. Father de Foucauld, without hoping for immediate conversions, has lived for twenty years in the Sahara a secluded life of hard penance, of perpetual adoration, in order to prepare the way for the missionaries of to-morrow. Gradually the Tuaregs have come to his hermitage, and his goodness of heart enables him to act as a peacemaker among them even before their wills are affected. He does nothing more for the present. It is only a germ, a seed corn planted deeply in the soil awaiting the missionaries of the future, those whose lives will manifest this heroic combination of the Christian virtues which the church defines as "*Holiness*," "For the soul is effective for good in proportion to its holiness."*

LOUIS MASSIGNON.

Paris.

* Foucauld, *l.c.*

NEW LIGHT ON THE TEXT OF THE QUR'ÂN

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"LEAVES FROM THREE ANCIENT QUR'ANS, POSSIBLY PRE-'OTHMANIC, WITH A LIST OF THEIR VARIANTS." Edited by Rev. ALPHONSE MINGANA, D.D., and AGNES SMITH LEWIS, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Ph.D. Cambridge, at the University Press. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

Mrs. Lewis has already established many claims to our gratitude because of the numerous valuable Syriac and other MSS., which she and her equally-learned sister, Mrs. Gibson, have discovered and given to the world. But in the present volume she has conferred yet one more favour upon all Orientalists, and not least upon all who are interested in the Qur'ân and in Christian work among Moslems. The "valuable and ancient portions" of the three Qur'âns which she has recovered from the leaves of a palimpsest purchased at Suez in 1895 throw much light upon the earliest readings yet discovered in that Book. When we remember that, in consequence of the drastic way in which the Khalîfah 'Uthmân destroyed all the copies he could find of the Qur'ân, except those made from Zaid's second edition of the text, it is not strange that the exemplars now in use agree with one another in all but the minutest particulars. But this has made it doubtful whether the copies now current contain all that the book held as originally compiled, and also whether unauthorised additions were not introduced into it at its 'Uthmânic "Recension." Some of the Shî'ites, as is well-known, have asserted that Zaid omitted not a few passages *which tended to support 'Alî's claims to be Mohammed's immediate successor, and attempts have been,—not too

* *Vide* my article on "Shî'ah Additions to the Qur'ân" in THE MOSLEM WORLD, Vol. III., No. 3, July, 1913.

successfully,—made to recover or invent such and to gain for them an introduction into the text. Even those copies of the Qur'ân, however, which are in circulation among the Shî'ites themselves, have not admitted such verses or parts of verses, still less the *Sûratu'n Nûrain.*

The only way to decide the matter, in the interest of both Moslems and Orientalists, is to discover a MS., or better still several MSS., of the Qûr'an made prior to 'Uthmân's recension. Hitherto, however, nothing of the kind has been done or even hoped for, unless it should turn out that in these fragments, discovered by Mrs. Lewis and edited by her and her coadjutor, Dr. Mingana, there is really contained a text differing so much from the *Textus Receptus* that it may be considered to represent some portion of Zaid's first " collection " of the book.

Dr. Mingana has given us all the data afforded by the text of these three fragmentary Qur'ânic palimpsests which may throw light on the subject. After weighing the evidence, his own opinion is given only by inference and with great diffidence. He says, " We leave the professional palaeographers to assign a definite and final date to these various scraps of parchment. The opinion that some portions of them may date from the very beginning of the eighth century is probable, and even alluring and tenable. . . . It is always difficult to state with safety that a style used in the middle of the eighth or ninth century might not have been used likewise at the end of the seventh. *Servatis servandis,* some pages of our palimpsest may appropriate, at any rate, the aureole of a high antiquity and satisfy all the reasonable exigencies of historical researches. In a general sphere of scientific investigation, a man acquainted with historical and philological lucubrations on the sacred book of Islam knows with certitude that a manuscript offering* ' in derision ' instead of ' something ' deserves respect. Would it be possible to make

* He refers to Sûratu'l Jâthiah, xlv. 18, where, instead of the usual Textus Receptus reading *shay'an* the newly discovered MS., fol. 150*a*, line 6, reads *hikman.* The latter accusative Dr. Mingana renders by " in derision." The word is very rare indeed in occurrence and is found nowhere else in the Qur'ân.

some portions of our manuscript go back to a time preceding the epoch in which the Qur'ân has been officially edited in a fixed *Textus Receptus?* Or, if not, are they perhaps a transcription from some scraps of copies which had escaped the persecuting zeal of 'Uthmân? A categorical answer, affirmative or negative, would be, on our part, only premature" (p. xli.). This seems to shew considerable doubt on Dr. Mingana's part regarding the question whether these three MSS. (which he denotes by A., B., and C. respectively, holding that C.,—because of the utter absence of diacritical points in it, among other reasons,—is the oldest of the three, while A. is a little more ancient than B.) do contain a text older than the 'Uthmânic recension. Elsewhere, however, he seems to speak more favourably of this latter theory, for he says, "If we find a manuscript of the Qur'ân presenting various readings of consonants and of complete words, and more especially if this manuscript offers some interpolations and omissions, it would not be too rash to suppose that it goes back to a pre-'Uthmânic period. The conclusion is clear, and is corroborated by the constant history of the Mohammedan world from the seventh century down to our own day" (p. xxii.). He proceeds to give carefully prepared lists of the variants, omissions and interpolations found in the three MSS.

In her deeply interesting preface to the volume, Mrs. Lewis expresses her own opinion on the subject in these words: "Few can read the list of variants given on pp. xxxvii.–xli. without perceiving that many of them fit better into their context and are more likely to have been dictated by the Prophet and written by Zaid ibn Thâbit than those which have been doing duty for 1,300 years instead of them. . . .

"We* think that these leaves are pre-'Uthmânic for this reason: Mohammed, when he believed that he was receiving supernatural revelations, employed Zaid ibn Thâbit to write them down for him; and this Zaid did, on potsherds, palm-leaves, strips of vellum, or whatever came handy. No doubt copies of the different Sûrahs

* Dr. Margaret Dunlop Gibson, Dr. Mingana, and herself.

were afterwards made by Zaid himself, when sufficient writing material had been obtained. It is not surprising if these contained some mistakes in spelling, especially as the rules of Arabic grammar were not then fixed. But, after Mohammed's death, Abû Bakr and 'Uthmân had all these writings properly copied out and arranged in the form with which we have become familiar. In this work, be it noted, they had the help of Zaid. 'Uthmân then ordered all the earlier copies to be destroyed; and the text of the Qur'ân, as it now stands, obtained a position of unique and unchallenged authority over the Moslem world. We, therefore, cannot imagine anyone attempting the useless task of writing out a text like ours after the time of 'Uthmân.

"Putting all the facts together, as they are known to ourselves, or as they have been handed down to us by a credible tradition, we think that these vellum leaves, now happily my property, were amongst those whose destruction was ordered by 'Uthmân, and was incumbent on all true believers in Islam. There are two ways of destroying manuscripts. The most effectual one is by burning: but in those early days vellum was scarce,—especially in the desert. . . . The owner of Qur'âns which had been prematurely written was surely justified in thinking that if he got rid of their text, by means of pumice-stone or otherwise, the attenuated vellum might remain" (pp. vii., viii.).

If these palimpsest pages of vellum do really contain portions of Sûrahs written before 'Uthmân's Recension (so to call it), then their literary value is very great. The light which will then be cast on the text of the Qur'ân will be considerable, though we doubt whether the Moslems of the present day will recognise their obligations to the discoverer as they should do.

But the more we ourselves recognise the importance of such a discovery, if it be real, the more carefully must we enquire whether it is so or not. Certain facts are granted, and they form criteria by which to judge the claim made for the pre-'Uthmânic character of these documents. These are:—

(1) The historical fact of 'Uthmân's command and

attempt to destroy *every* copy of any portion of the Qur'ân which differed from the *Textus Receptus* that he had caused to be drawn up by Zaid and his three coadjutors.

(2) The fact that *these fragments differ considerably* from the Textus Receptus.

If the latter fact be established (and pp. xxxvii.–xli. prove it indisputably), the conclusion drawn by Mrs. Lewis (and less decisively by Dr. Mingana) follows naturally, *unless* some other theory can be found which will more satisfactorily account for this and the other facts of the case. These other facts are:—

(3) The evident antiquity of the fragments, as shewn by (*a*) the character in which they are written, (*b*) the circumstance that their Arabic text had been obliterated *before* there was written on the vellum the Arabic text of the Christian Homilies which compose the uppermost writing of the palimpsest and belong (Preface, p. v.) "to the very end of the ninth century or to the beginning of the tenth." This writing was in vogue for a very short time."

(4) The great unlikelihood that, at any time after 'Uthmân's decree, copies of the Qur'ân would be written differing from the *Textus Receptus:* unless (*a*) they were written by "heretics"; or (*b*) to preserve genuine *variae lectiones:* (In the latter case these fragments would be almost as valuable as if they dated from a time prior to 'Uthmân's edict, for they would contain pre-'Uthmânic readings. Hence we may leave this possibility out of account.): or (*c*) unless the variations were due to carelessness. (This latter consideration may also be left out of account; for, though a few omissions or additions of single words,—such as those mentioned by Dr. Mingana in p. xl.,—might thus be accounted for, yet the carefulness of the writing and the well-known Mohammedan reverence for the text of the Qur'ân disprove the assumption of any great degree of carelessness on the transcriber's part. The general omission of Alif as a sign of vowel prolongation and the total want of the vowel-points are not marks of carelessness but proofs of the antiquity of the documents, quite as

much so as is the Kûfo-Naskhî character in which they are written).

It will save trouble if we consider the "heretic" theory before proceeding further. Perhaps the only "heretics" whom we need consider at such an early date are the Shî'ah party, upholders of 'Alî's claims. It is worthy of note that *none* of the verses and parts of verses and *neither* of the Sûrahs, entitled *An Nûrain* and *Al Walâyah* respectively, in the Shî'ite additions to the Qur'ân found in the Bankipur MS.* can be discovered in these newly published fragments. Hence it is safe to infer that the variations are not due to any Shî'ite influence. This becomes all the more clear from the fact that the Shî'ite reading mentioned by Imâm Fakhru'ddîn Râzî† as occurring, according to tradition, in 'Alî's copy of the Qur'ân in Sûrah xi. 20, "And a witness from Him, as a leader and a mercy, readeth it, and before it was‡ the Book of Moses," is *not* found in these fragments. Owing to the fact that these MSS. are not complete, we cannot say whether they contained the words regarding 'Alî which some of the Shî'ite party allege to have been purposely omitted from the *Textus Receptus* of Sûrahs iv. 136-164, v. 71, xxvi. 228. For the same reason it is impossible to decide at present whether their readings were to be found in Sûrahs iii. 106, xxv. 74, xii. 12, xxiii. 39: whether these MSS. omitted Sûrahs i., cxiii., and cxiv., with Ibn Mas'ûd, or inserted Sûrahs *Al Khalâ* and *Al Ḥafd* (otherwise styled *Al Qanût*) with Ubai.§ For this reason it is devoutly to be desired that, as Mrs. Lewis says, other portions of such early Qur'ânic MSS. may yet be discovered. But all the evidence we have as yet, scanty though it be, is decidedly against the idea that possibly the variants in these fragments may be due to "heretics."

The question then arises whether these variants are recognised as such by leading Moslem Commentators of a later date. Baizâwî, for example, in his commen-

* See my article above mentioned.

† *Khulâṣatu 't Tafâsîr*, Vol. II., p. 383.

‡ See my Revision of the *Mîzânu'l Ḥaqq*, pp. 257, 258.

§ *Ibid.*

tary, mentions not a few *variae lectiones* as occurring in different places. We have consulted his work concerning all the important variants which Dr. Mingana gives in pp. xxxvii.–xli. *Baizâwî does not mention a single one of them*, though in Sûrah ix. 38, he records two other various readings, neither of which occurs in the fragments. This seems to tell in favour of the antiquity of the readings found in the newly published MSS.

Dr. Mingana (p. xxxvii.) calls attention to the readings *allakk* and *hik'm-an* in Sûrah xlv. 18, instead of the *Allâh* and *shai'an* found in the *Textus Receptus*. Undoubtedly these are very remarkable. We are inclined to differ from him, however, in his vocalisation and rendering of the former word. Remembering that the *alif* is rarely, if ever, used in the fragments as a letter of prolongation and has to be frequently supplied by the reader, this word may be *alâlika*, and would then mean "thy lie." This may explain why the other word (meaning "in derision") is added. Mohammed's opponents speak of *alâl* (lie, error) in connexion with him, instead of *Allâh* (God), and are said to do so "in derision." It is hard to resist the idea that here we have two important variants from the 'Uthmânic text. As commentators take no notice of them, they must be pre-'Uthmânic.

It remains to enquire what effect the "various readings" of these MSS. have upon (1) the doctrines, and (2) the evidence for the text of the Qu'rân as it at present exists in all modern copies.

Judging by these fragments, the new discovery does not in any way affect any doctrine of Islam. We have failed to find anything in the MSS. which at all supports Shî'ite views as opposed to Sunnite. On the other hand, while the general agreement between these MSS. and the *Textus Receptus* proves that the latter assumed much of its form and the order and arrangement of its Sûrahs and verses before 'Uthmân's "Recension," yet it is clear from the numerous though slight variations from his text that this does not in every respect represent with perfect accuracy the Qu'rân as it existed in its earliest edition.

Orientalists will welcome the list of *variae lectiones* supplied by this discovery. It is one of the *desideranda* of the time that an edition of the Qur'ân should appear which would give the variations from the Received Text recorded by Baiẓâwî and other Moslem Commentators and Traditionists. When this is done, doubtless Mrs. Lewis' MSS. will occupy the place of honour in connexion with the Qur'ân that the Sinaitic and Vatican Codices do in the textual criticism of the Greek New Testament.

W. St. Clair Tisdall.

DAMASCUS AS A MOSLEM CENTRE

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DAMASCUS, the "head of Syria," may well claim to hold high rank as a Moslem centre.

A city whose history dates back earlier than the days of Abraham and which through all the rolling centuries has never ceased to hold its own, the capital of kingdom after kingdom, destroyed by one conqueror after another, but always rising again on its ashes, as is testified by the depth of the rubble on which the present city stands, such a city must have a unique cause for its persistent existence and its dominant character. That cause is found in its geographical position.

It is a city which holds the double advantages of an inland capital and of a port. Situated on a plateau over 2,000 feet above sea-level, it is protected from western aggression, though not isolated from western influence, by the double range of Lebanon. On the east it lies open to the desert.

Its position is determined by the abundant waters of the Fijeh and the Barada, the ancient Abana. United ere they disgorge from the mountains behind her, they make a garden of the plain, where she lies as a "pearl set in emeralds." But the river ceases to flow when it has watered her precincts. It merges in the sands of the great sun-baked ocean which surges up to her outposts. Hence her importance as a port of the desert. Towards that bourne the caravan tracks converge from all sides. Broad and ill-defined as they straggle over the wide expanse, they narrow down to well-beaten high-roads worn by the traffic of the ages, as they near her gates.

On the south lie the granaries of the Hauran; to the north, Aleppo, and the route through Tadmor to Bagdad and the kingdoms of the East. Her marts are the

exchange for East and West. The looms of Manchester and of Beluchistan send her their products. Touters from America may meet in her bazaars with merchants from Kandahar. Blue-eyed Soleib Arabs barter their truffles in her streets for the products of Austria or Birmingham.

These same high-roads have seen the advance of conquering hosts, and changing dynasties have made Damascus their capital. Syrian, Assyrian, Seleucid, Roman and Nabatean reigned there in succession before the Moslem Arabs, under Khalid b. Walid, conquered the city for Islam and established there the headquarters of the Caliphate. From that time during a century of conquest, the centre of Moslem power was in Damascus, and from her came most of the governors who held rule in Egypt and other conquered lands. Here, too, Saladin held his court, forsaking Cairo for Damascus as a more strategic point for the capital of Islam, and there, in close proximity to the great mosque of the Omayyids, the famous Saracen leader lies buried.

With the Arab conquest commenced a new era for Damascus as a centre of Islamic influence. The gods of ancient days, whose altars were seen and admired by Ahaz, had passed away. The vast temple reared in honour of the pagan deities of later empires can still be traced, far exceeding in extent and in magnificence the great Christian church of St. John the Baptist, which occupied its site at the time of the Moslem invasion. The latter building still forms the place of worship in the mosque which has taken its place. Its construction, and even the inscriptions on its three doorways, can still be traced, including the memorable one on the chief entrance: "Thy Kingdom, O Christ, is an everlasting Kingdom." The importance attached to the maintenance of the prestige of Islam in Damascus may be guaged by the lavish expenditure of the Turkish Government on the restoration of the building after the great fire of 1893. No pains or expense were spared in its decoration, and that at a time when the exchequer was so low that the soldiers of the same government were drilling in ragged uniforms and heelless slippers!

The reasons for that importance are not far to seek. Damascus lies on the route to Mecca. From North and East come streams of pilgrims. For weeks before the starting of the *Hajj* the streets are filled with groups of strangers. Persians, Circassians, Beloochis, Afghans and Indians may be recognised by their various costumes. Their religious fervour inflames the populace, and the period before and after the return of the Pilgrimage is apt to be one when fanaticism is easily roused and when it behoves the Christians to avoid anything likely to cause provocation.

The population of the city is overwhelmingly Mohammedan. It is variously estimated at from 300,000 to 400,000. Of these 10,000 are Jews, about 20,000 represent the very numerous Christian sects, while, with the exception of some hundreds of Druses in the southern suburb and probably some thousands of the Shi'ite sect, all the remainder are Sunni Moslems.

Within the last twenty years there has been an amazing, and, indeed, a disquieting increase in the population, through the influx of refugees from all parts of the Turkish Empire. Grants of money are made, and concessions of land, to Moslem immigrants, who, for various reasons, have had to leave their homes elsewhere. As a rule these are turbulent spirits, whose doings have caused trouble with the Christian powers leading to their expulsion, or to settlements deemed by them unfavourable and which have caused them to emigrate. Among these are Cretans, Cypriotes, Circassians from the Russianised provinces, Kurds from Armenia, who came laden with booty from the massacres of 1895, and the more recent accessions from Europe since the Balkan war. From being a small group of houses on the slopes of Salahiyeh, this colony has spread until now it reaches the village of Birzeh on the North, and forms a new city dominating the plain. This lawless element is a perpetual menace. Deeds of robbery and violence are of almost nightly occurrence. In any time of political disturbance or religious excitement, its unscrupulous hordes are a ready instrument for plunder or massacre.

Apart from this unwelcome foreign addition, Damas-

cus Moslems have a good reputation, and live, for the most part, in peaceable and friendly relations with the Christian minority. But it has not always been so. There are those still living who remember the days when a Christian must always give way to a Moslem in the crowded streets, and when the burial permit gave leave "to cast the corpse of this Christian dog on the dung-heap." The terrible massacre of 1860, when over 2,000 men and boys were killed in cold blood and the Christian quarter was reduced to ruins, is still a vivid memory. Events still date in Damascus from before, or after, the "Disturbance." It was followed by reprisals on the part of the Christian powers which have remained a salutary lesson. The iron staples are still pointed out with awe and horror, where the bodies of leading Moslem citizens hung from the arches of the Sinaniyya, and elderly men, who as boys counted them by the score as they dangled from extemporised gallows in the bazaars and at the doors of their private houses, are ready to repress fanatic turbulence with a reminder of "the year '60."

The status of the Christian community, however, still leaves much to be desired. Excluded from government positions, they are also hampered in any attempt to share in agricultural interests. In only one of the many villages of the Damascus plain are Christians allowed to bury their dead, an effective check on residential ownership of landed property. Intellectually and socially, they are in advance of the Moslem community. Moslem education is still continued on traditional lines, and although in recent years a number of schools have been opened for Moslem girls, the proportion of illiteracy among women is overwhelming.

In the past, Damascus had no small share in the development of Moslem theology and the making of Arab literature. *El Akhtal* flourished there in the early days of the Omayyids—*El Ghazali* lived and wrote in her great mosque. Religious leaders, such as *Muhiyyu 'Din Ibn' l'Arabi* and *Ibn Taymiyya*, lived and are buried there. But from the literary life of the modern world Damascus lives apart. Her newspapers and journals come to her from Beirut and Cairo. Only two political

dailies have been published in the city, and one of these has been suppressed. Of three magazines only one is edited by a Moslem.

The religious currents of Islam to-day flow strongly along the old channels. Superstition holds the masses in its grasp. Sacred trees are hung with rags. Lamps burn before wayside shrines. Crowds visit the uncorrupted hand of a dead saint. The miraculous rising of the portal of a shrine is celebrated every year at the spring festival. The grave of Fatima draws many pilgrims, especially women of the Shi'ite community.

The Derwish orders are well represented, and hold their Dhikrs in the Derwishiyeh, a conspicuous enclosure with a handsome mosque and with residential quarters. Their members may be met in the streets any day, with John the Baptist-like garb and cocoanut shell begging bowl. Recently at the crowded railway station, one venerable sheikh in immaculate garments matched by his snowy beard, was heard reiterating, with fierce, fanatic fervour and scornful defiance, as he passed among the indifferent and curious foreign tourists to bestow his blessing on those starting for the Hajj by train—*Huwa'l Hukk lahu 'l Humd.* "A religion which produces men like *that* is no easy foe," was the remark of one who noted the strange contrast. "We are still only playing at missions here." And that is true.

Damascus, as a Moslem city, is still practically untouched by the Christian message. Medical missions have paved the way and removed some prejudice, something has been attempted in educational and evangelistic work among women and girls, but the field as a whole remains virgin soil. No society has yet faced the stupendous task which lays the imperative claim of a great need and a great opportunity upon the Christian church.

MARGARET L. JOHNSTON.

Beirut.

ISLAM IN FIJI

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ISLAM was introduced to these Christian isles with the arrival of the first shipload of indentured Indian labourers some thirty-five years ago. Since then each year has seen the arrival of new reinforcements to the ranks of Islam with each company of recruited labourers as well as the free settlers who emigrate from India to these shores.

A large proportion of these people, after serving their time as indentured labourers in the sugar plantations, take up land or go into business for themselves and make their homes in and become regular residents of the country. Their children grow up amidst circumstances very different from those which prevail in the land of their fathers. They are involuntarily influenced by their environment. They know nothing of the Islam of India. They necessarily differ materially from the viewpoint of their parents. What schools there are available are Christian mission schools. The government of the land is Christian. The natives of the country are, without exception, Christian. The Christian Sabbath is observed throughout the group. The whole atmosphere that young Islam breathes outside its own homes and community is Christian.

The Indian population in Fiji numbers about 53,000. No statistics are available, but one is safe in saying that Islam claims no more than 15,000 of these.

Although Islam in Fiji differs in many respects from the Islam of India, still it retains some of its old characteristics. For instance, there is that bitter antagonism to the Gospel, with the stock objections to the Bible. A few Mohammedans keep Bibles apparently for the purpose of disproving its genuineness or for finding

arguments for refuting Christian claims or in the vain hope of discovering references in support of Islam.

Islam has never taken root in this country. It is still exotic. Here is no mosque and no namaz (public prayer). Ramzán and the other festivals of Islam are but slightly observed. I have been closely associated with the Indians in Fiji now for three months, and never once have I noticed the namaz performance. A Moulvie was asked whether he observed the namaz. His reply was, " Who observes namaz in this country ? " Once I called upon a Moulvie at the time of the evening namaz. He ostentatiously called for a cup of water. This, he explained, was for the purpose of performing his ablutions. He needed not, he said, save to wash his mouth, as he was otherwise clean every whit. Here Islam lacks organisation. There is no Jama' Masjid nor any central authority. The authority of the self-styled Moulvies is disputed by the more intelligent and better educated amongst them, and acknowledged only by a small following of disciples a little more ignorant than themselves.

Islam in Fiji is not aggressive, nor has it shown any aptitude or inclination for influencing the Fijian native, who has so recently emerged from barbarism. The Fijian is a staunch Christian, who knows and reads his Bible and regularly attends his church services. He knows much more about " Hazrat Isa " than any of the champions of Islam in Fiji. Islam, nevertheless, has ambition for future development. Lately steps have been taken for the erection of a Jama 'Masjid in Suva, and there is an idea of bringing out a Moulvie from India. But Islam lacks consolidation and unanimity, so it remains to be seen whether anything is possible in that direction. A member of the Khuddám i Ka'ba in India, who was about to leave for Cairo to qualify for missionary work, suggested that he might eventually be sent to Fiji in the interests of Islam. There is still the possibility, therefore, of Islam becoming aggressive.

While, therefore, there is nothing to fear from Mohammedan aggression, the deep spiritual need of Islam must be recognised by the Christian church. Thank God that

many Fiji-born Moslems have found Christ, and are now numbered amongst the Indian Christians of Fiji. But the Mohammedans of Fiji are like sheep without their shepherd. Their Moulvies are generally hirelings. They have nothing to give but everything to gain from their flocks. Porters they are who keep the door of the fold fast shut against the Good Shepherd, who calls in vain for admission to the fold that He might call His own sheep by name and lead them out where they may find pasture.

The Methodist Missionary Society of Australasia, whose headquarters is in Sydney, has five mission stations *for work amongst Moslems and Hindus* in Fiji. There are five European missionaries employed together with a small company of Indian catechists and teachers. A new mission has lately been opened in Azamgarh, India, where European workers for the Fijian field will go in order to qualify for work amongst the Indian immigrants in Fiji.

The C.M.S. also carries on Christian work at Labasa in another part of the group. In all there are six mission stations, five belonging to the Methodist Church and one to the C.M.S. Much more remains to be done in order to reach the Indians scattered throughout the Islands.

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ISLAM AND THE PHONOGRAPH

——:o:——

[Through the kindness of Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje, we are able to give our readers a portion of a most interesting paper prepared by him for the "Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen deel XLII. aftevering 5." The earlier part of the paper deals with the origin of *Fetwas*, or religious decisions in Islam, in regard to such matters as are not mentioned in the Koran or Tradition. Among them he mentions tobacco, the art of printing and photography, as well as the use of pictorial illustration. The decision given in Java in regard to the phonograph is typical. In spite of all *Fetwas*, however, the phonograph and the cinematograph are over-running the Moslem world everywhere, and for good or ill Islam must reckon with them as with Western civilisation in general.—Ed.]

The phonograph is one of the most recent inventions that have come from Western lands to the countries of Islam. Its first public appearance on the Isle of Java was received with much astonishment by the Arabs, and before long a sayyid in Batavia bought such an instrument in order to show it to the public for money, using Arabic and Malayan records. Some verses of the Koran were included, especially the *Fatihah*, the Moslem "Our Father." They were reproduced by the "wonder box" to the great delight of the audience, which was mainly composed of Arabs, Chinese and natives. Scrupulous people and scribes as a rule remain away from such exhibitions, if only because of their dislike of a company composed of so many elements. The fame of this wonderful instrument, however, aroused their curiosity, and some of them had it shown to them in smaller, private gatherings. Those of a worldly turn of mind listened to the records with great delight, and in their enthusiasm they even spoke favourably of a phonographic recitation of the Koran; and some suggested that a phonographic *Azān* might in future be used instead of the human voice for the call to prayers which is ordered by law. Others shook their heads in disapproval and

called the phonograph a useless toy, and such reproduction of the Koran verses a profanation of the Word of God. Sayyid Othman also was of this opinion, and a visit he paid to the owner of the instrument only deepened his conviction. Soon he wrote a *fetwa* in the usual form regarding the use of the phonograph, and when several objections against the *fetwa* were heard, he wrote a detailed essay to silence his opponents. We give below, partly as a translation, partly as an abbreviated resumé, the contents of both his tracts and of some other *fetwas* on the same subject.

Question: What is the statement of the scribes (whose wisdom may Allah allow us to enjoy continually !) concerning the box (*sanduq*), in which there are instruments that draw into its interior sounds created in its neighbourhood ? If, for instance, a person goes near such a box while he recites the Koran, his recitation is drawn into this box ; in similar manner the song of a singer or a musical composition are received by the box. In such manner all the sounds are collected inside, each one preserving its own kind. When the owner of the box wishes to hear any one of the sounds received, he puts the instrument connected with those certain sounds in motion, and then the sounds are reproduced so that every one hears them who puts the wire of the box to his ear. The owner of such a box travels with it from one place to another, taking payment from the people who wish to hear the contents thereof ; and among the audience there are non-Moslems as well as Moslems. This wonderful box excites the astonishment of the people as do electric lights, the electric tram, the " seer of the bowels " (Röntgen rays), and other new inventions. What then is the decision of the scribes concerning the exhibition of this box for payment, and what is the teaching of the sacred law regarding the hearing of such sounds as are received mechanically ? Does the Moslem who hears recitations of the Koran reproduced in this way deserve any reward for the hearing ? Is it permissible for Moslems to listen to the sounds of musical instruments thus reproduced, or to songs sung by an unknown woman (*i.e.*, of a woman who is neither the listener's wife nor a

relative with whom conversation is allowed). Give us your statement (*fetwa*) on these questions, and may Allah give you His reward.

It can be seen immediately that there are four principal points to be considered :—

1. Is it an honest profession, in accordance with the divine law, to show to the paying public a phonograph that gives in turn recitations of God's word and songs of public women ; or is it a forbidden enterprise, because infidels, as well as believers, from mere curiosity, listen to this recitation, and because it is not fitting for Moslems to delight in the song of women ?

2. Are the sounds reproduced in this manner so much the same as the original sounds that the heavenly reward which Allah promised for the hearing of the Koran will also be given to him who listens to the phonographic recitation ?

3. If phonographic sounds cannot be considered as a real human voice, is it permissible to listen to the song of women reproduced in this way, although as a rule the sound of a strange woman's voice is forbidden to the Moslem ?

4. If the phonograph emits mere figures of sounds and not real proper tones, is then the prohibition of music according to the Moslem law to be applied to the musical sounds received in the phonograph and reproduced by it ?

Let us now hear how Sayyid Othman discusses these questions from a legal point of view.

Answer : We pray to God for guidance to the true and right thing. Know (God guide thee and me) that the problem of the box in question and of the other new inventions mentioned in the question, is quite clear. We begin by three remarks of introduction.

1. All things that God created in heaven and on earth have their deep meaning, their particular character, and their use, as the Koran teaches. The deepest meaning and the greatest utility of all things lies in the fact that they testify to the Oneness of the All-wise Creator, to Whom alone the power of creating and producing can be attributed, and that the intelligent

and those gifted with perfect reason may give Him thanks for His material and spiritual benefits.

2. Non-Moslems have a share, as well as Moslems, in the natural reason that is implanted in the human race, and which enables man to understand sciences and to produce works of hidden and thoughtful art. He whose part is great and who gets help from others, is able to create works of art and produce inventions which another less fortunate and without help may not be able to accomplish. The perfect reason, however, is the spiritual enlightening which is put in the heart of the believer and which brings him to eternal happiness; and only he that believes in God and His prophet possesses it. The apostle of God said: "Reasonable is he who believes in God, acknowledges His apostle and renders obedience to Him." That is reason which, according to the exegetes, is meant by the word of the Koran "lubb" (*i.e.*, the marrow, the kernel, the interior, the inner sense or reason), where God says: "Herein are the signs for those gifted with reason" (*i.e.*, the reasonable), (Surah iii. 187). The owner of such reason is defined by God's apostle by the word *kayyis*, when he says: "*Kayyis* is he who keeps himself far from the domain of cares, and who works for the other world." Finally, this is the reason which the infidels owned that they lacked when they saw eternal punishment, and said, "Had we listened and had we possessed reason we would not now be among the people of hell" (Surah lxvii. 10).

3. It is incumbent on Moslems to be concerned about their living as well as the other world, and to occupy their minds with both. Many verses of the Koran and many traditions testify to the fact that one has to care first for the other world, and secondly for one's living. The command is further passed on to us to be moderate in the seeking of one's living, as the prophet of God said: "Fear God and be moderate in your earnings." Out of these two reasons and because of the lack of co-operation, there are only few Moslems nowadays that have the time and the zeal necessary for the investigations and examinations by which new inventions are produced, such as we find among non-Moslems, because the latter

apply both body and soul to realise their worldly purposes by investigations and researches, and because they help each other. They are thus able to produce new and wonderful things, such as the box in question and similar inventions. Such are the results that they (the infidels) obtain by their science.

We have permitted ourselves this threefold digression in order to secure a proper understanding, and that astonishment and mistakes may be put aside. The following answer applies also to the question, "What is the opinion of the Moslem scribes concerning the showing of the box mentioned, etc?"

When the box is brought to a place that does not serve for mere pleasure, and when the hearers are Mohammedans, whose conduct while they listen to the reproduction of a Koranic selection, is decent, and in whom the hearing of these particular sounds does not excite sensual temptations, then it is permitted (*mubah*). When, however, the hearing of it is not attended by decency, and when it arouses lustful passions, then it is forbidden (*haram*). The same is the case when the instrument is shown in a place of amusement, or when non-Moslems are present. Here, where the recitation of the Koran may produce derision and mockery, it is to be feared that the use of the box tends to unbelief, from which may Allah preserve us.

To the question, Does the Moslem who hears the Koran reproduced in this way deserve heavenly reward? the answer is: No, for the thing heard is not the voice of man that recites the Koran, the hearing of which is commanded to us by God. The sounds have come away from the mouth of the reciter and are separated from him, and they arise anew from this instrument. There can be no question of a Koranic recitation, because the sounds of the Koran are no longer produced by the organs of speech destined for each one of them, and also because they do not possess the peculiar, legally demanded qualities, so that no heavenly reward can be given to the hearer. Even to him who listens to a real recitation of the Koran, no reward shall be given as long as the reciter does not fulfil the rules fixed by the masters of the

tajwid (instruction of Koran recitation); yea, such hearing is in many cases forbidden (*haram*), the same as the act of such a reciter itself, as the texts of the authorities inform us. And the reason of it is that such defective recitation is a deviation from the right way of the Koran, and Allah's words are quoted here: "An Arabic Koran without crookedness (fault)." (Surah xxxix. 29).

If the teaching is so clear that the hearing of Koran recitations which do not conform to the fixed rules bring no reward, because such recitation is considered as crookedness and deviation from the right way of the Koran, what then can we expect of these crooked sounds which come out of the crookedness of these newly-invented and misleading instruments? At most one might say that where the sounds are right and clear, and where the hearer takes to heart the warning contained in the verses he heard, the recompense of his consideration may be given him.

To the question, Is the listening to the song of a strange woman, or to the sounds of musical instruments reproduced in this way, forbidden? the answer shall be: Where the listening awakens sexual desire, then it is forbidden because of that lust; just as men are forbidden to look upon the shadow of a strange woman or to gaze at her reflection in a mirror, thereby awakening tempting. Where that lust is absent the hearing is not forbidden. Our imams also clearly teach that to behold the image of a strange woman in the mirror is permitted where it is not accompanied by erotic imaginations. But Allah knows best!

This seems to me the proper answer to the question previously mentioned, although my scientific knowledge is not great, and my position is of a modest kind. Allah give His benediction and His salutation of peace to our Sayyid Mohammed, and to his relatives and associates, in the beginning and at the end; and praise be to God the Lord of the world. This has been written by the humble servant of God, Othman ibn Abdullah ibn Aqil, may Allah forgive him. Amen.

Objections were made to this *fetwa* by a learned Arab at Singapore. These we give in condensed form:

1. The hearing of sounds reproduced on the phonograph is allowed.

2. The hearing of Koran recitations carries with it religious merit, whether we hear the actual voice of the one who first spoke the words or the echo of the sounds.

3. When the phonographic sound is considered as that of one who reads, the proper responses and prostrations are also incumbent upon those who hear.

4. In regard to the records of the phonograph, they are to be regarded with the same respect and awe as that due to a written Koran, namely, " None shall touch them but the purified."

And, finally, there can be no legal objection to substituting the phonographic *azan* for that of the voice.

[The reply of Sayyid Othman to these objections, is given *in extenso* by Dr. Hurgronje, and is naturally in the negative, and quotes the familiar Moslem tradition : " The most evil things are those that are newly invented. Every new invention is heresy, every heresy is error, and every error leads to hell-fire."] Meanwhile the sayyid, who first travelled around Java with his phonograph, has made a good business of it, and many of the Javanese have since then introduced the phonograph into their drawing-rooms. The only result of the *fetwas* has been that those who consider themselves specially pious refrain from listening to phonographic records of the Koran, but even this will not prevent their use in this respect, for the best Koran reciters are far from being distinguished by their piety.

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BAHAISM AND RELIGIOUS DECEPTION

——:o:——

A CHARACTERISTIC of the Bahai leaders is *dishonesty in dealing with their religious history.* This sometimes takes the form of the suppression and concealment of documents, sometimes of the omission or perversion of essential facts or their presentation in such a way as to falsify history. In the writing of political history and in scheming for the triumph of a political party, we may expect crookedness in dealing with facts, but in the propagating of a new religion designed to supersede Christianity and Islam, and purporting to be an improvement on them, we do not expect to find dishonesty and misrepresentation. Yet this is exactly what we find, namely, "a readiness to ignore or suppress facts, writings or views (undoubted historical), which they regard as useless or hurtful to their aims."*

When Mirza Husain Ali (Boha Ullah) started out as a "Manifestation," it was necessary to get rid of certain facts and beliefs held by Babis. He must reduce the Bab from his position as the Point of Divinity—the Lord of a new Dispensation, as well as supplant and supersede the Bab's successor, Subh-i-Azal.† Thoroughly to accomplish this object (after the Babis leaders had been put out of the way), the history was rewritten. While claiming that the Bab gave testimony to Baha and taking to themselves the glory of Babi heroism and martyrdoms, the Bahais relegated the Beyan and other "revelations" of the Bab, not yet a score of years old, to dust-covered oblivion.‡ Subh-i-Azal avers that they wilfully destroyed them. He writes §that thirty or more bound

* Prof. Browne's Introduction to Phelps' "Life of Abbas Effendi," p. xxi.

† "New History," p. 426. ‡ Idem, p. xxvii.

§ "Traveller's Narrative" (Episode of the Bab), p. 342-3.

books of the Bab were given in trust by him to his relatives (Baha and his family) as trustees. "They carried off the trust," and "making strenuous efforts, got into their hands such of the books of the Point as were obtainable, with the idea of destroying them and rendering their own works attractive." Prof. Browne* informs us that it was very difficult to obtain a Babi book from Persian Bahais and next to impossible to get a glimpse of one at Acca, where the Bahais had them concealed. The "holy, divine books" were shelved from motives of policy.

A primitive Babi work of first importance was the "History," by Mirza Jani. This was an original narrative of events, at first hand, prepared in sincerity by one who shortly suffered martyrdom for the cause (1852). But its facts did not suit the Bahais. So it was superseded, first by the "New History†" (1880), and secondly by the "Traveller's Narrative" (1886). Both these histories purport to be written by European travellers. We might excuse their being anonymous, to avoid possible persecution, but to make pretence that the authors are travellers who have come from afar ostensibly to investigate, and into whose mouths are put praises of the religion, is but part of the insincerity noticeable in other things.‡ Mirza Jani's "History" passed out of sight, and it was only because a copy had been deposited by Count Gobineau in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris that it has reached our hands.§

* Browne's "A Year Among the Persians," p. 530. "If, instead of talking in this violent and unreasonable manner, you would produce the Beyan, of which ever since I came to Persia I have been vainly endeavouring to obtain a copy."

† Its authors were Mirza Hussain of Hamadan, M. Abul Fazl, and Manakji.

‡ Numerous magazine articles, and even the "Life of Abbas Effendi" have been written by Bahais, as if they were outsiders making observations.

§ In his Introduction (pp. xxxii.-v.) to Mirza Jani, which he has had printed in Persian, Prof. Browne says, "But for Count Gobineau it would have perished utterly. This fact is very instructive, that so important a work could be successfully suppressed," and "that the adherents of a religion could connive at such an act of suppression and falsification of evidence." "This fact is established by the clearest evidence."

Of the "New History" little need be said, except that it perverted the history and "carefully omitted every fact, doctrine and expression,"* not in accord with the policy of Baha.

Let us examine somewhat in detail how Abbas Abdul Baha treats facts in his "Traveller's Narrative." He is undoubtedly the principal author of this work.† The Persian Bahai, who sent Prof. Browne the lithographed (Bombay) copy of it, wrote, "It contains the observations of His Holiness, the Lord, Mystery of God (May my personality be his sacrifice)." Prof. Browne was also presented with a copy of it at Acca, which he published in Persian with an English translation. Of it he says,‡ "It was written to discredit the perfectly legitimate claims and to disparage the blameless character of his less successful rival" (Azal). "There is good ground for suspecting a *deliberate misstatement*§ of facts and dates." He specifies‖ various points in which Abbas Effendi perverted the facts. Undoubtedly one of the aims of Abbas was to eliminate Azal. The latter had been regularly appointed by the Bab as his successor,¶ but he refused to make way for Baha. The Bahais tried to get rid of the question by suppressing all mention of him, even of his name, and "of all documents tending to prove the position which he undoubtedly held."** They

* "New History," p. xxix.

† Idem, xiv., xxxi. ‡ Idem, xiv.

§ "Encyclopedia Brittanica" article, Babism.

‖ "Traveller's Narrative," p. xlv. It (1) belittles the Bab and glorifies Baha—making the former simply a forerunner; (2) belittles the sufferings and deeds of Babis, passing over remarkable events almost unnoticed and magnifies inferior deeds of Bahais; (3) debases Azal, disregards his position as successor, disparages and scorns him as lacking in courage and wisdom; (4) tries to curry the favour of the Shah of Persia and excuses his persecutions, putting the blame on Mullahs and Viziers, deprecating the resistance and wars of the early Babis.

¶ Count Gobineau (p. 277) says, "There was some little hesitation about the successor of the Bab, but finally he was recognized as divinely designated, a young man of sixteen, named M. Yahya (Azal). The election was recognised by all the Babis."

** "Mirza Jani," p. xxxii.

would have consigned him to oblivion.* The "New History" makes but one doubtful reference to Azal.† Prof. Browne says, "Abbas Effendi,‡ in order to curtail the duration and extent of Subh-i-Azal's authority and to give colour to their assertion that it was but temporary and nominal, *deliberately and purposely antedated* the Manifestation of Baha." And he continues to the present to misrepresent the facts. In "Answered Questions,"§ Baha is presented as the chief influence in Persia immediately after the Bab. Other Bahai writers repeat this error.‖

2. Another practice of the founders of Bahaism is *falsifying and changing the documents and texts of their Sacred Writings*, namely, those of the Bab and Baha, according to the exigency of circumstances. Subh-i-Azal made the accusation "that the Bahais had tampered with the Bab's writings to give colour to their own

* "Mirza Jani," p. xxxv., Prof. Browne says, "When I was in Persia in 1887-8, the Babis (Bahais) whom I met *feigned* complete ignorance of the very name and existence of Subh-i-Azal."

† P. 64, note.

‡ "Abbas Effendi *suppressed* all incidents and expressions not in accordance with later Bahai sentiment." "Of this I am certain that the more the Bahai doctrine spreads, especially outside of Persia, the more the true history is obscured and distorted."—Prof. Browne in his introduction to Mirza Jani, p. xxxvi.

§ Pp. 36-38.

‖ One need not be surprised at this falsifying of claims and historical facts, for it is the testimony of the Bahai historian himself ("New History," p. 5) that "the principal vice of the Persians is falsehood—so universal and customary and so familiar that truthfulness is entirely abandoned and ignored." "In matters relating to religion the Mullahs have shown themselves to be ready liars and shameless forgers." The degree of reliability of this History may be judged from the following sentence, "When the people of Italy had proved the extent of the Pope's hypocrisy, guile and deceit, they so effectually deposed him and his children and his grandchildren that naught remained of him but the appearance." Referring to 1870-1. Since writing this article, I have received a pamphlet by August J. Stenstrand, of Chicago, called "Third Call to Behaists." He writes (p. 27), "The Babi history as well as their sacred scriptures prove that a terrible corruption, changing and transposing of its meanings, has been going on in the hands of the Behaists." Again (p. 28), "We have plenty of proofs that there has been continual corruption, interpolation, changing, transposing and stealing away the sacred scriptures of the Babi religion in the hands of the Bahais."

doctrines and views."* I pass this by, to notice how they have tampered with their own "Revelations." For example, take Baha's "Epistle to the Shah of Persia." Its original text was published by Baron Rosen.† It is embodied by Abbas Effendi in the "Traveller's Narrative."‡ The two do not agree. "Very considerable alterations and suppressions were made in the text by the author of 'Traveller's Narrative.'"§ "The text has evidently been toned down to suit a wider audience and to avoid giving offence to non-believers."‖

There is also another "Epistle to the Shah" which is contained in the Surat-ul-Maluk. Its tone is strikingly different. The first is a careful diplomatic document which acknowledged the faults of the Babis, pleads pardon for the past and for religious toleration. It is monotheistic, representing Baha as a humble suffering servant, with no pretence to Divinity. The other "adopts a tone of fierce recrimination towards the Shah, and upbraids him for the Bab's death, saying, 'Would you had slain him as men slay one another, but ye slew him in such a way as the eyes of men have not seen the like thereof and heaven wept over him, and by God, the eye of existence hath not beheld the like of you; you slay the son of your prophet and then are of those who are joyful.'" He excuses the attempt on the life of the Shah, and threatens vengeance¶ on him. These two Epistles to the Shah have been a puzzle to the critics. This threatening, fierce letter seems so contrary to the policy of Baha. An adequate and not improbable ex-

* Cf., "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," 1892, p. 447.

† "The Alwah-i-Salatin," in Collections Scientifiques, St. Petersburg, 1877.

‡ "Traveller's Narrative," pp. 108-164.

§ "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," 1892, p. 313.

‖ Idem, p. 286.

¶ "Star of the West," September 27th, 1913, pp. 9, 10, "If thou dost not obey God, the foundations of thy government shall be razed, and thou shalt become evanescent—become as nothing. If no attention is paid to this book, thou shalt become non-existent."

planation* would be that one letter was prepared for the perusal of his Majesty and the other for the Bahais, to impress them with the boldness of their prophet.

Another example of this is seen in the suppression† of part of the Lawh-i-Basharat (Glad Tidings). Its fifteenth section commands Constitutional Government. When the Tablet was sent to Russia, this section was suppressed by Bahais. The Tablet was published in its mutilated form by Baron Rosen. Expediency, which rules Bahai practice, required that an incomplete " Divine Revelation " should reach Russia.

Playing fast and loose with the " Revelations " prevailed still more at the time of the bitter quarrel and schism on the death of Baha. Though Baha's Tablets are regarded as " Holy Books " in the highest sense, yet the Bahais commit the grave offence of changing them so as to misrepresent facts. Mirza Mohammed Ali and Badi Ullah, younger sons of Baha, in refuting the claim of Abbas Effendi to be Baha's successor, say, " Has Abbas dared to change the texts uttered by Baha Ullah ? Most certainly, Yes. We have in our possession *many* texts of Baha Ullah which have been changed‡ by Abbas Effendi." Further, " he and his party have stolen the first paragraph of a sacred Tablet and have perverted its meaning, with deception."

Khadim-Ullah,§ the life-long amanuensis of Baha,

* The same explanation will account for the opposite narratives of the trial of Baha before the Turkish Court at Acca. Mr. Laurence Oliphant reports that the Court put the question to Baha, " Will you tell the Court who and what you are ? " " I will begin," he replied, " by telling you who I am not. I am not a camel-driver (alluding to Mohammed), nor am I a carpenter."

† " New History," p. xxv.

‡ " Facts for Behaists," p. 27. We mention a few of the important ones. (1) The so-called Tablet of Beirut, which confirmed the claim of Abbas, and was said to be transcribed by Khadim Ullah. The latter declared it to be a forgery by Abbas Effendi. (2) Abbas omitted the middle part of the " Tablet of Command " to make it certify his claims. A complete copy in Baha's own handwriting showed the subterfuge. (3) He combined parts of two different Tablets, called it the " Treasure Tablet," and claimed that it certified his succession. The two tablets were produced and proved the falsity of the claim.

§ " Facts for Behaists," p. 55. Afterwards Badi Ullah, who had

asserts that Abbas actually rejected a "Sacred Tablet," written in the handwriting of Baha Ullah. Other Tablets are repudiated. For in "Hidden Words"* Baha Ullah refers to the "Fifth Tablet of Paradise" and the "Ruby Tablet." Abbas Effendi warns against accepting any such tablets if they should be brought to light. What other reason for this can we imagine than fear that their contents would be against his claim. Enough has been said to show the truth of the charge that the Bahais deal dishonestly with the documents of their alleged revelation.

A peculiar instance of forgery occurs in the writings of Baha Ullah. In his Epistle to the Shah Baha quotes certain verses as from the "Hidden Book of Fatima." This book, the Shiahs believe, was revealed by Gabriel to Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed, disappeared with the twelvth Imam, and will be brought back by the Mehdi at his coming. Prof. Browne† wrote to Acca making inquiry about this "Book of Fatima" and the quotations from it. The authorative reply which he received was, "That naught is known of such a book but the name, but Baha Ullah mentioned it in this manner to make known the appearance of the Kaim" (Mehdi). In other words, Baha was making a false pretence of quoting from the "Book of Fatima," as if he, as Mehdi, had brought it with him.

3. Bahais make *false representation of facts in political history.* The "Traveller's Narrative" perverts the truth for "political opportunism."‡ Contrary to the contemporary historian, Mirza Jani, and the European chroniclers, the Shah is represented as ig-

accused the party of Abbas of making additions to the writings, with a purpose changed sides in the quarrel and accused Mehmet Ali of the same things—"interpolating," "erasing," "transposing," "replacing," "clipping and joining fragments," of the Tablets of Baha Ullah, besides issuing "a false writing in his name." Mehmet Ali is also accused of "carrying away by way of the window" two trunks full of the "blessed writings." See "Epistle to the Bahai World," by Mirza Badi Ullah, pp. 3, 5, 12-17.

* "Hidden Words," numbers 20, 37, 48.

† "Traveller's Narrative," p. 123.

‡ "New History," p. vii.

norant and innocent of and averse to the repressive measures taken by his government against the Babis. Let me give specific proofs of this.

At the first trial of the Bab, at Tabriz, according to Mirza Jani,* Nasr-ud-Din, then Crown Prince, whom he dubs "bastard," treated the Bab disrespectfully by rolling a globe towards him and taunting him with ignorance of it and by ordering him to be bastinadoed. The "Traveller's Narrative,"† per contra, says, "The heavenly-cradled Crown Prince pronounced no sentence with regard to the Bab, but the Mullahs ordered a bastinado." The former history states that the Prime Minister consulted, about the execution of the Bab, with the Shah,‡ who gave him full authority to act in the matter," and that he then communicated with Prince Haurza Mirza, Governor of Azerbijan, who proceeded to make plans for it. Abbas' Narrative§ states that the Minister, without the Royal command and without his cognizance and entirely on his own authority, issued commands to put the Bab to death"; "that Prince Haurza utterly refused to have part in the trial and execution." Gobineau‖ confirms the original account, and states that Prince Haurza "took a leading part in the condemnation of the Bab." It is certain that contemporary Babis¶ held the Shah responsible for their persecution and were bitter against him. Mirza Jani records the death of Mohammed Shah, by saying that "he went to hell"; the "New History" affirms "that he passed to the mansions of Paradise." Nasr-ud-Din

* Idem, p. 353.

† "Traveller's Narrative," p. 20.

‡ "New History," p. 292.

§ "Traveller's Narrative," pp. 40, 41. Abul Fazl also is apologetic for the Shah, and says ("Bahai Proofs," p. 38), "Without seeking permission from the Shah, the Minister issued the order for his death."

‖ "Traveller's Narrative," p. 259.

¶ In "New History," p. xvii., Prof. Browne says, "The Babis made no profession of loyalty, nor did they attempt to exonerate the Shah from the responsibility of the persecutions. They entertained for the Kagar rulers a hatred equal to that for the Mullahs, which Mirza Jani is at no pains to disguise. To the Shahs, such terms as tyrant, scoundrel, unrightful king, are freely applied. The battle cry, 'Ya Nasr-ud-Din Shah,' is described as 'a foul watchword.'"

was no puppet king, he was fully cognizant of the affairs of state. Regarding the imprisonment of Baha, the "Traveller's Narrative"* says, "His Majesty, moved by his own kindly spirit, ordered investigation and the release of Baha Ullah." He had just ordered the execution of twenty-eight Babis, with horrid cruelties, after the attempt on his life. Regarding the torture and execution of Badi, who bore the Epistle to the Shah, it says:† "It was contrary to the desire of the Shah, and he manifested regret for it." This and much in that Epistle is written with the idea of conciliating the Shah and obtaining toleration. It is a sensible attitude, did they not maintain it with so much misrepresentation and hypocrisy. The real spirit of Bahais towards Nasr-ud-Din is seen in Baha's Surat-ul-Muluk, and is one of "fierce recrimination." Confirmation of this comes from conversations with Bahais.

Another misrepresentation of history, which is universal among Bahais, is in belittling the plot to assassinate Nasr-ud-Din Shah in 1852. Abbas Effendi says,‡ "It was done by a certain Babi, by sheer madness, one other person being his accomplice." His sister, Bahiah Khanum, says,§ It was "by a young Babi who had lost his reason," Kheiralla,‖ "by a weak-minded, insane believer." Similarly all their writers propagate a tradition that one irresponsible man made the attempt. It is permitted to doubt the Shiah historian, who gives a circumstantial account of how twelve Babis, including one high leader, laid the plot. But Count Gobineau¶ is entitled to credence when he says that there were a number of Babis in the plot and three took part in the attempt. A nephew of one of the accomplices told Prof. Browne** that there were seven in the plot and three of them went out to commit the act. Why will not Bahai writers give the facts straight?

Another misrepresentation fostered by them is that

* "Traveller's Narrative," p. 52. † Idem, pp. 104-6.

‡ "Traveller's Narrative," pp. 49, 50. § Phelps, p. 13.

‖ "Beha Ullah," p. 411. ¶ "Traveller's Narrative," p. 53.

** "Traveller's Narrative," p. 323.

of calling the Babi martyrs Bahais. Thus Abdul Baha says,* "When they brought Kurrat-ul-Ayn the terrible news of the martyrdom of the Bahais, she did not waver." Again he says,† "Thousands of His (*i.e.*, Baha Ullah's) followers have given their lives, and while under the sword shedding their blood they have proclaimed, 'Ya Baha-ul-Abha.'" He said‡ in Dr. Cadman's Church, "The King of Persia killed 20,000 Bahais." Again,§ "In all parts of Persia his enemies rose against Baha Ullah, imprisoning and killing *his* converts, razing thousands of dwellings." These are gross misstatements. In Kurrat-ul-Ayn's time there were no Bahais, only Babis. No such efforts as those described were ever made to crush Bahaism. The thousands who gave their lives were Babis. Perhaps someone remarks, "What's the difference?" Foreign writers may not know the difference, and an American audience certainly does not. But Abdul Baha, from whom I have quoted, makes a great difference. It arouses one's indignation to read Bahai literature, in which they claim credit for all that is noble in Babi annals, such as the martyrdoms, and yet they disparage and deny the Babis.

Read Abul Fazl's "Bahai Proofs." He said‖ to Prince Naibus-Sultaneh, "The unseemly actions of the Babis cannot be denied nor excused, but to arrest Bahais for them is oppression, for these unfortunates have *no connection with the Babis*, who took up arms, *nor are they of the same religion or creed.*" In another place he writes¶ repudiating the wars and disorders of the Babis, and affirming that they were guilty of many censurable actions, such as taking men's property and pillaging the dead, and engaging in conflict and bloodshed. If then the Bahais repudiate them, they must not appropriate their glory, for the old Babis, with all their faults, were at least heroic. Bahaism has, on the contrary, the spirit of *tagiya*.

I pass on to consider Abdul Baha's representations

* "Star of the West," October 16th, 1913, p. 210.

† Idem, July 13th, 1913, p. 118. ‡ Idem, September 18th, 1912.

§ "Some Answered Questions," p. 37.

‖ Page 77, 78. ¶ Page 63.

regarding Sultan Abdul Hamid. I present two quotations from Tablets addressed to American believers. The first says,* "Here one witnesses the fairness and impartiality of H.I. Majesty the Padeshah of the Ottomans, who has dealt with the utmost justice and equity. In reality to-day, in the Asiatic world, the Padeshah of the Ottoman Empire and the Shah of Persia, Muzaffar-ud-Din, are peerless and have no equals. These two kings have treated us with mildness—both are just. Therefore, pray ye and beseech for their confirmation in the threshold of the Almighty, especially for Abdul Hamid, who has dealt at all times in justice with these exiled ones." Abdul Hamid—a peerless, just one! Surely this would have remained among the *hidden things* had not one "Servant of God" (Abd-ul-Baha) revealed it to us about that other "Servant of God" (Abd-ul-Hamid). This "revelation" is dated 1906. After Abdul Hamid was deposed, Abdul Baha speaks† of "his oppression and tyranny," for the Sultan sent "an oppressive, august commission, that with all kinds of wiles, simulations, slander and fabrication of false stories, they might fasten guilt upon Abdul Baha. But soon fetters and manacles were placed around the *unblessed* neck of Abdul Hamid." Did the "Infallible Pen" err in the former character sketch? No, but Abdul Baha's oppression‡ of his brothers, in retaining their patrimony, resulted in a bitter quarrel and complaints, followed by an investigating Commission and Abdul Baha's imprisonment. On this account the whitewash scaled off Abdul Hamid.

Another form of misstatement is their habitual way of speaking of the imprisonment of Baha and Abdul-Baha. Abdul Baha says of Baha,§ "His blessed days

* "Tablets of Abdul Baha," Vol. i., p. 46.

† "Star of the West," May 17th, 1911, p. 6.

‡ Mrs. Templeton (previously Mrs. Laurence Oliphant) in "Facts for Behaists," tells of the unrighteousness of Abbas Effendi (Abdul Baha) in keeping from his brothers and step-mothers the pension money of the Turkish Government and the revenue of Baha's villages, and of his ostentatious charity in giving away part of these funds by distributing coins to a mixed crowd of beggars every Friday.

§ "Star of the West," May 17th, 1913, p. 74.

ended in the cruel prison and *dark dungeon.*" "He passed his days in the Most Great Prison."* Abdul Baha continually speaks of himself in such words as the following, "Forty years I was a prisoner; I was young when I was put in prison, and my hair was white when the prison doors opened."† "After all these long years of prison life." "My body can endure anything; my body has endured forty years of imprisonment."‡ Now, what are the facts?

In Phelps' Life, Bahiah Khanum§ says, "We were imprisoned in the barracks at Acca two years (1868-70)." Then‖ "we were given a comfortable house¶ with three rooms and a court." After nine years of such restriction Baha Ullah moved to a beautiful garden outside the city and built there a Palace, called Bahja. He had the freedom of the surrounding country, visited Mount Carmel, and later spent a part of each year at Haifa.** Baha Ullah died in this Palace, not in a *dungeon.*††

* "Tablets of Abdul Baha," Vol. i., p. 44.

† "Star of the West," Idem, p. 67. ‡Idem, September 8th, 1912, p. 5.

§ Phelps, p. 66. ‖ Idem, p. 70.

¶ This house was purchased by an American Bahai lady, that it might remain in Bahai hands.

** "Bahai Proofs," by Abul Fazl, p. 66. Remey, p. 23.

†† "Mrs. Grundy, p. 73 ff., "Ten Days," etc., speaks of the Palace of joy as a very large white mansion. Prof. Browne was received here (1890). He was conducted through a spacious hall, paved with a mosaic of marble, into a great antechamber, and entered through a lifted curtain into a large Audience Room.

Of the Garden of Baha, Sprague ("A Year in India," etc., p. 1) says, "It is a veritable garden of Eden, with luxuriant foliage and every fruit. Baha Ullah used to sit under the large spreading tree and teach his disciples." "Mrs. Grundy" says, "The Rigwan is filled with palm trees, oranges, lemons and wonderful flowers. A river, the Nahr Naaman, runs through it, in two streams, on which ducks and other fowls swim. On an island is an arbour under two large mulberry trees. A fountain plays in the midst. Under the arbor is a chair where Baha used to sit. No one sits in it any more. (Mrs. Grundy knelt at the foot of the chair). The garden has a cottage, where Baha spent his summers." A Palace and a luxurious summer place were Baha's "Most Great Prison" during most of his years at Acca. Compare Laurence Oliphant's "Haifa," etc., p. 103, for a fine description of his "pleasure ground." How unfounded are such statements as Bernard Temple's ("Star of the West," p. 39, April 28th, 1914). "All this while the founders were behind prison walls."

As to Abbas Effendi, during the first brief period only he was restricted to the barracks. He was even temporarily put in chains in the dungeon* when accused of participation in the assassination of the Azalis. After that, for a period of *thirty years*, " he was permitted to go about at his pleasure, beyond the walls of Acca."† He built a fine residence‡ at Haifa, which I have seen. He journeyed to Tiberias and as far as Beirut. Only after his quarrel with his brothers and on their accusation was he ordered back to Acca, and even then he had the freedom of the city (1905).§ Such are the facts about Abbas Effendi, whom Canon Wilberforce introduced in his Church as " for forty years *a prisoner for* the cause of *brotherhood and love*." In truth it was the quarrelling of the brothers, Azal and Baha, that led to the banishment from Adrianople to Acca, the murder of Azalis by Bahais increased its severity, the bitter hatred of the younger generation against each other brought back the restraint.

4. Another immoral practice of Bahais is *tagiya* or *Ketman*, religious dissimulation. This is taught and practised by Shiah Moslems,‖ and it is continued with all its offensiveness against good morals by Bahais. In it concealment, denial or misrepresentation by word or act is allowed for self-protection or for the good of the faith. It was formally permitted by Baha Ullah. In accordance with this practice Abdul Baha and his followers at Acca keep the Fast of Ramazan¶ in addition to the Bahai Fast at Noruz. Dr. H. H. Jessup** wrote, " He is now acting what seems to be a double part—a Moslem

* Phelps. p. 75. † Idem, p. 80.

‡ Dr. H. H. Jessup, who visited him in 1900, writes (*New York Outlook*, 1902), " Abbas Effendi has two houses in Haifa, one for his family, in which he entertains the American lady pilgrims, and one down town where his Persian followers meet him."

§ Abbas Effendi in Acca at this time visited Mr. Remey (" Bahai Movement," p. 108). He received American pilgrims. Mrs. Goodall (" Daily Lessons," p. 6) speaks of " His bountifully spread table," the laughter and good cheer, and (p. 13) remarks, " One would never realise he was visiting a Turkish prison."

‖ Dr. Shedd says, " Concealment of religious faith is a common practice in Persia, and it is approved and recommended by Bahais."

¶ Phelps, p. 101. ** New York *Outlook*.

in the Mosque, and a Christ in his own house. He prays with the Moslems, 'there is no God but God,' and expounds the Gospels as the incarnate Son of God." Mirza Abul Fazl, a Bahai missionary, lately died in Egypt. At his public funeral* the Moslem *taziah*, with reading of the Koran, was held, though he was a strenuous worker for the abrogation of Islam. Most Bahais in Persia live in habitual *tagiya*. Fear of persecution is some palliation for this, but it is a great defect. Very far from the truth is the statement of Lord Curzon† that "No Babi (or Bahai) has ever recanted under pressure." Mr. Nicolas,‡ the French Consul at Tabriz, shows from the Bab's own writings that he himself denied his Manifestation at his examination at Shiraz and signed a recantation. At the execution§ of the Bab in Tabriz (1850) two of his intimate disciples denied the faith. The explanation of the fact is remarkable and instructive. They were enjoined to do so by the Bab in order that they might convey certain documents to a safe place. In other words, they were to lie for the faith, by divine injunction. In another notable instance,‖ seven Babis stood firm and were executed at Teheran, while thirty recanted, being told by their leader to judge whether they were justified by family ties, etc., in renouncing the faith. "They determined to adopt a course of concealment, *tagiya*." Some years ago a Bahai was called before the Governor of Tabriz and questioned, "Are you a Bahai?" "I am a Mussulman." "Will you curse Baha?" "It is written in the Koran not to curse, I am not a Bahai." By payment of a peshkesk this answer was made acceptable. And no offence was recognised in conscience, for Baha had said, "If your heart is right with me, nothing matters." It were scarcely necessary to note that some Babis and Bahais have denied their faith, except to correct the mistake of travellers, but the fact that denial is permitted and approved is important. For *tagiya* is

* "Star of the West," March 2nd, 1914. † Phelps, p. xxxi.

‡ "Le Béyan Persan" (Paris), Introduction xvi.-xxiv., by A. L. M. Nicolas, who has made a special study of Babism and published much.

§ "New History," p. 252. ‖ "Traveller's Narrative," p. 252.

a deeply-rooted seed which bears evil fruits in their characters and conduct.

Even their propaganda is carried on in the same deceitful spirit. The Bahai conceals from the one he approaches his status and beliefs, insinuates himself into his confidence, suits the substance of his message to the preconceptions and prejudices of his hearer and leads him on, perhaps omitting to mention the real essentials of Bahaism.* One of their methods is to worm themselves into the employ of Christian Missions and clandestinely carry on their propaganda while they undermine the work of the Mission. Perhaps the Mission wishes a language teacher or a mirza. A Bahai presents himself. He talks well. In the course of conversation the missionary inquires his religious views. He appears liberal minded. Direct inquiry is made, "Are you a Bahai?" He replies, "No, *I am not*, but I am tired of Islam; I am a truth-seeker." The missionary employs him. After a time, maybe, he professes to be a Christian, and is baptised. Such were a certain Mirza Hasan and a Mirza Husain, who deceived the Swedish Mission and received salaries as Christian evangelists, but had been and continued to be Bahais and propagandists. I have heard that in a certain Station (not American) Bahais, without revealing their faith, accepted positions as cook, language-teacher, financial agent, etc., and so surrounded the new Mission that it was a Bahai more than a Christian establishment. Dr. Shedd† tells of an assistant he had with him in school work—a Persian, with whom he discussed religious topics freely. For years the man disavowed belief in Bahaism, but finally threw off the mask and became an active propagandist. After his dismissal he instigated the Persian pupils, whom he had previously secretly beguiled, and they complained to the Persian Government that "they, as good (?) Moham-

* S. M. Jordon, of Teheran, says ("The Mohammedan World," Cairo, p. 130), "We are honestly open in our methods, while they are the reverse." Dr. Shedd says, "Christian Mission work is openly Christian, that of Persian Bahais is professedly Mohammedan." "Bahaism, as offered to a Jew, a Christian or a Mohammedan varies greatly."

† "Missionary Review," 1911, October.

medans, were offended by having to study the Christian Scriptures." Great is *tagiya !*

What else can we expect, since Abdul Baha instructs his disciples in pretence. A certain Madame Canavarro,* staying at Acca, expressed her desire to assist in spreading Bahaism among the Buddhists, and spoke of the difficulty of introducing it as a new religion. Abdul Baha replied, " At first teach it as truths of their own religion, afterwards tell them of me." She replied that she herself was imbued with the spirit of Buddhism. He answered, " What you call yourself is of no consequence." To a certain American lady who was afraid her friends would be repelled by the idea of a new religion, Abdul Baha advised, " Remain in the church and teach Bahaism as the true teaching of Christ."

A striking instance of this religious dissimulation is seen in Hamadan.† There about two-and-a-half per cent. of the Jews have accepted Baha as the Messiah. But many of these continue in the outward forms and associations of the Jews.‡ Others professed to be Christians, and were protected as such by the Shah's government. After a decade or two it became evident that they were hypocrites, cloaking their Bahaism under the Christian name.

This Oriental dissimulation takes on a different phase in Western Bahaism. The principle of the latter is stated thus, " Adhere to any religious faith with which you are associated."§ " No religious relation‖ should

* Phelps, p. 154.

† Miss A. Montgomery, in " Woman's Work," 1913, p. 270, says of these Bahais, " This sect of Moslems, thirty years ago, were afraid to appear to be what they really were, they exercised the privilege of falsehood their deceitful faith grants them, and called themselves Christians."

‡ A European Jew reports as follows (1914), " The Jewish Bahais in Hamadan are few in number (exactly fifty-nine besides children). They have not yet broken with Judaism. They go to the Synagogue and follow outwardly our religious practices. They deny *in public* that they are Bahais from fear of the Mussulmans, who detest the new religion. But the continual attacks of the Bahais against the Jews will exasperate our co-religionists, who will cast them out finally. At present the practical result is hatred and disdain, and bitter dissensions between fathers and sons, sisters and brothers, husband and wife."

§ Phelps, p. 96. The Report of the Bahais to the United States

be severed, but these relations should become as avenues for giving forth the message of the Bahai faith." This idea is delusive ; it is self-deception, ignorance, or worse. No Christian can give allegiance to Baha as incarnate God and accept, as he then must, Islam,* Babism and Bahaism as successively true, and as higher revelations abrogating Christianity, and still be loyal to Christ. Bahaism is not a philosophy like Tolstoism, nor a theory of economics like the " single tax " ; it is a religion as much as Mormonism is.

A plain example of Bahai *tagiya* is in connection with the organisation known as the " Persian-American Educational Society." This was organised at Washington, D.C., under the patronage of Mirza Ali Kuli Khan, Persian Chargé d' Affaires. Its organising body, committee to draft its constitution, its executive, are Bahais, yet its circular sets forth seventeen purposes for its existence without naming the propagation of Bahaism as one of them. It appealed for funds on general philanthropic and educational grounds, never mentioning its religious motive. It introduced the names of President Taft, Secretary Root, and other prominent men in such a way as to lead the public to understand that the movement had their intelligent endorsement. To its real purpose, viz. : aiding existing and establishing new Bahai schools in Persia and the Orient,† I am making no objection. It is the *concealment* of this purpose which is objectionable when contributions are asked from the general public. It claims to be

Census Board says, " One may be a Bahai and still retain active membership in another religious body."

|| Remey's, " The Bahai Movement," p. 97.

* Bahaism says, " Christians who do not believe in the Koran have not believed Christ."

† The name of the Society has been changed to the " Orient Occident Unity," and a commercial department added. Its contributions are acknowledged, and its work reported through the " Star of the West " as Bahai work. An American, who imported a machine flour-mill to Persia, under its auspices, told the Consul that the object of his coming was not the mill but propagating Bahaism. In the " Jam-i-Jamsied," Calcutta, March 28th, 1914, Dr. E. C. Gatsinger boasts to the Parsees, " The American Bahais have established schools in Persia, and have sent American teachers to those schools."

unsectarian, because its schools take in pupils of all sects and religions. So do the schools of Christian Missions, but they are none the less Christian schools, and the "Orient-Occident" schools are distinctively Bahai. They *disclaim proselytizing*. The claim is simply false. Bahai schools are hot beds of proselytizing, and must be so by their nature. Their law* says, "Schools must first train the children in the principles of the religion." Dreyfus† adds, "There is no fear of a prescription, emanating from such authority, ever being disregarded." The Bahai school in Teheran worked under cover for some years. Remey says,‡ "This institution is not generally known as a Bahai School. However, it is in the hands of the Bahais. From the directors down through the teachers and students, the majority were of our faith." Similarly in Bombay,§ the Bahai teacher concealed his faith. "The Zoroastrian parents of his pupils suspected him of Bahaism and so took their children out."

But to find the supreme example of Bahai *tagiya* we have to go to the fountain head. Abdul Baha himself, oblivious to its moral obliquity, lays bare the fact in his "Traveller's Narrative."‖ We have seen that Sabh-i-Azal, the half-brother of Baha Ullah, was appointed by the Bab as his successor. According to Abdul Baha, this appointment was a dishonest subterfuge on the part of Baha, arranged by him through secret correspondence with the Bab, in order that Baha might be relieved of danger and persecution and be protected from interference. So "out of regard for certain considerations and as a matter of expediency, Azal's name was made notorious on the tongues of friends and foes even to jeopardising his life, while Baha remained safe and secure, and no one fathomed the matter." Abul Fazl¶ states the position of the "Traveller's Narrative" as

* "Words of Paradise," p. 53. † "The Universal Religion," p. 139.

‡ "Observations of a Bahai Traveller," 1908, p. 77.

§ Sprague's, "A Year in India," p. 16. ‖ Pp. 62, 63, 95, 96.

¶ "Bahai Proofs," p. 52. See also Browne's "Mirza Jani's History," pp. xxxiii.-vi.

follows, "The Bab and Baha Ullah, after consulting together, made Azal *appear* as the Bab's successor. In this manner they preserved Baha Ullah from interference." This account shows the low ideas of honour and truthfulness in the minds of Baha and Abdul Baha. And although their explanation is not true (but an invention of their *tagiya—corrupted* minds), it shows to what straits* they were put to explain away the succession of Azal, the legitimacy of which Azal still, in his ripe old age, maintains. Abdul Baha published to the world Baha's deceitfulness, but in vain!

Of a piece with this was the action of Baha's trusted agent, Maskin Kalam, in Cyprus. This Bahai was sent by the Turkish Government with Azal. "He set up a coffee-house at the port where travellers must arrive, and when he saw a Persian land he would invite him in, give him tea or coffee and a pipe, and gradually worm out of him the business that had brought him there. If his object were to see Subh-i-Azal, off went Muskin Kalam† to the authorities, and the pilgrim soon found himself packed out of the Island." This account is given by a faithful Bahai. Afterwards Maskin Kalam retired to Acca and spent his old age as an honoured guest of Baha.

* The Bahais are impaled on the other horn of the dilemma also, for, as Prof. Browne says ("Mirza Jani," p. xxxiii.), "The difficulty lies in the fact that Subh-i-Azal consistently refused to recognise Baha's claim, so that the Bahai is driven to make the assumption that the Bab, who is acknowledged to be divinely inspired and gifted with divine knowledge and prescience, deliberately chose to succeed him one who was destined to be the 'Point of darkness,' or chief opponent, of 'Him whom God should manifest.'"

† "A Year Among the Persians," p. 517.

A MOHAMMEDAN TRACT SOCIETY

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As it takes two to make a quarrel, so it takes two to make a controversy, which, we trust, is something very different. Religious controversy, and in particular that between Christianity and Islam, has at times suffered from two disabilities: first, the failure of the champion of one side to understand the other point of view *as his opponent understands it;* and, secondly, the lack of answering apology worthy the name. The first is a well-worn theme; immeasurable is the *odium theologicum* that has sprung from a natural misunderstanding of terms used. As for the second, the traditional methods of Moslem argumentation have seemed to us scholastic and pedantic, out of touch with the very elements of modern thinking, so that however convincing they have been to the already convinced Moslem, they have had little or nothing to commend them to the Westerner; and no doubt our postulates have been equally meaningless to the ordinary Moslem. The remedy lies in relegating controversy as such to a very secondary position and concentrating on the weightier matters, unless and until Moslems rise out of the rut of antiquated scholasticism. That their intellectual leaders in India have done. For a generation now we have been familiar with the work of such men as Amir Ali Syed and his followers. They certainly make the attempt to meet us on our own ground and deal with essentials, brushing aside superficialities with as skilled criticism as European theologians. The first result is that we can no longer glibly deny to Islam any reformed future or social regeneration. We may or may not believe that such a thing is possible,

but its impossibility is not an axiom. Together with that goes the discovery that some of our long cherished ideas about existing conditions—*e.g.*, the status of women, call at best for most careful investigation.

It is therefore with considerable interest that we note the recent establishment in Lahore of "The Mohammedan Tract and Book Depôt, Punjab." A supplement to *The Comrade* was published on May 30th, 1914, giving a catalogue with brief descriptions of sixty-seven books and pamphlets already published, all in English and some in Urdu also. From a short preface we quote the following:—

"This depôt was opened after long and careful consideration. Its main object is the publication of books, the study of which would not only be a source of pleasure but also afford moral and spiritual instruction, teaching men to hate vice and love virtue; to bear a good moral character; to shun evil company; to regard the Supreme Being with due awe and reverence; to kindle a desire for piety; to fulfil the duties laid upon man by God; to promote mutual sympathy and goodwill; to put away prejudice, malice, annoyance, irreligiousness, bigotry, disobedience, etc.; and especially to become perfectly acquainted with the Tenets of Islam, in order to be able to cope successfully with its opponents; and, lastly, to have a true and complete knowledge of our illustrious predecessors and their glorious deeds."

Specimens of the publications were sent to the editor of THE MOSLEM WORLD, and it is the purpose of this article to review some of them briefly.

Our attention is caught first of all by the attractive title: "Manners and Morals of the Prophet." A really intelligent paper on this subject by a modern Moslem, telling us how to reconcile some of the ugly features of the Medina period with the Moslem doctrine of prophethood, would be most instructive. Unfortunately, this is merely a translation of a passage from *Al Ghazali*, which is thoroughly mediæval, reproducing stories and legends with no discrimination. The only end served, therefore, is to throw once more into relief the need of healthy criticism from which Islam suffers, even, we must conclude, in the case of editors of such an up-to-date series of tracts as this.

"Early Muslims and their Golden Deeds" is a panegyric of the good old times, leading up to a lament over the decay of morals and of faith in our own degen-

erate days. "Usury" is dealt with at some length, and modernising attempts to water down the rigidity of the prohibition are sternly dealt with.

"The Principles of Islam" is well-written, the points being ably supported by quotations from the Koran. The principles are five: (1) belief in God; (2) belief in Divine Revelation as found not only in the Koran but in all ages and to all nations. Here Islam is at one with the other great religions, as also in holding that the highest aim of religion is communion with God, which "is not attained by bringing down God to man in the sense of incarnation, but by man rising gradually towards God by spiritual progress and the purification of his life from all sensual desires and low motives." (3) Belief in a future life, the heaven and hell of the beyond being "only images of the spiritual effects of the good or evil deeds done here." Then on the practical side (4) man's duty towards God, in prayer, fasting and the pilgrimage; and (5) his duty towards his fellow-man, based on the great brotherhood established between all nations, tribes and peoples.

We turn to a collection of four or five short articles bound together under the title, "Women under Islam: Their Social Status and Legal Rights." Some of these are by English ladies who have had opportunities to see something of harem life from within. They protest, not without a trace of sneering, at the traditional view of the status, theoretical and actual, of Moslem women. The protest is largely justified; perhaps even the sneer, for those who ought to know better on occasion are still heard to declare that Islam teaches that the woman has no soul, and that the Koran finds no room for women in Paradise. The latter is, of course, untrue. The former is apparently due to debased ideas current in Turkey, which are a relic of paganism and are not a deduction from Islam. The superstition is not found in Egypt.

It is, however, a far cry from the squashing of prejudices to the presentation of an idyllic picture of domestic happiness and bliss. Even if it is true that after all the Moslem woman has equal rights of divorce with her

husband, we scarcely feel drawn for that reason to the system. Miss Garnett moreover thinks that the "equality of the sexes" is much more nearly attained among Moslems than in Western countries, because "Such influence is often exercised by the clever wife of a grand vizier, not only directly over her husband, but indirectly through her friends in the Imperial serai, that the dismissal of existing functionaries of the Porte and the appointment of their successors often rests to a great extent virtually with her." There follows a description of crowds of ladies waiting in their carriages at the gate of the vizier's house to get an interview with his wife on behalf of their sons, brothers, husbands. Petticoat intrigue is a strange recommendation for a social system!

By far the most interesting of the papers is one which appears to come from a Turkish lady who is head of her own harem with Circassian slaves and others under her. The picture she gives may be compared with that presented by Marmaduke Pickthall's admirable book, "Veiled Women." She says that "life in a harem is much the same as that led by a community of nuns, with the difference that a Circassian lady has not even the solace of reading." They are enlivened by the professional story-tellers, who spend hours with them. "I must state that I am, as a matter of course, speaking of the old-fashioned harems, where decency and religious feeling abound to a great degree, and from which fanaticism has not wholly vanished. Of the harem of these days, governed by Turkish civilised girls, the least that is said the better, for if in a few of them modesty still exists, it is in those only where the lady of the house is not so imbued with the idea of progress as to forget that she is a woman and a Muhammadan." The gist of this is that the old Moslem harem was a reputable home of average happiness, but that women, like men, are suffering from the veneer of modern progress and losing the restraints of their religion without finding any sanction for a higher morality.

Those who think that these descriptions are biassed must at least base their refutation on equal experience; and let it be postulated that prognostications of what

the future of Islam may bring forth can no more be made from à priori theories than can descriptions of the existing state of things. A great lack in our literature on Islam is the feminine counterpart of Lane's "Modern Egyptians." Lane's sister, Mrs. Poole, wrote a most enlightening and delightful book called "The English-woman in Egypt," which, unfortunately, is long out of print and very little known. It is too slight and chatty to be equal to her brother's monumental work, but it is enough to raise strong regrets that she did not persist in a once half-formed intention to attempt something more comprehensive on the ways of Egyptian women.

There are, however, many recent books of value on the subject. First and foremost we would place "La Condition de la Femme dans la Tradition et l'Evolution de l'Islamisme," by Mansur Fahmy, whose views are so liberal that it is said he could not return to Egypt after the publication. There are also "Harems et Musal-manes d'Egypte," by "Niya Salima," "Femmes Arabes," by Perron, and in English Miss Hester Jenkins' "Behind Turkish Lattices," of which, however, a competent critic has remarked that the observations are trustworthy but the deductions and explanations dubious.

"Polygamy" is the subject of another pamphlet by the secretary of the Young Men's Mohammedan Association in Lahore. A few quotations will suffice, suggesting their own comment. "The chief object of marriage is the propagation of the species under most favourable conditions, that is, the generation of offspring enjoying sound health, bodily as well as mentally. A marriage that falls short of accomplishing this object (whether due to accidental or natural causes) is either a marriage to be superseded or at least a marriage that requires superaddition." "The laws of Islam with regard to marriage are: (*a*) Marriage is allowed or essential to such men only who possess both bodily power and riches . . . (*b*) A man who wishes to enter into matrimony should keep in view two objects, (1) gratification of his desire and purity of his mind; (2) a desire for good offspring." We need only add that the author gloats over the fact that being a medical student

he can dwell on details that most people would have thought unnecessary for his purpose.

The most interesting pamphlet of all is one containing an anonymous series of articles under the general title, "Mr. Sell on Islam." The articles were published in answer to others written by Canon Sell in the Madras Christian College Magazine. Here is controversy undiluted. Canon Sell had evidently set forth his point of view with no uncertain voice. His opponent does likewise. He describes vividly the transformation of Arabia in a score of years from a medley of disunited tribes, with no morality and no religion worth the name, to a solid unit, worshipping the one God and leading pure lives. "As regards their beliefs and practices, and as regards their social and moral codes and their political condition, all underwent an entire change. Their nocturnal carousals give place to heartfelt prayers with tears in their eyes, and the times of drunken revelries were changed into the times of humble prayers . . . Their evil nature seemed to have entirely gone away, and given place to a virtuous disposition." He gives a striking picture of the prophet in Mecca, living a life of the deepest devotion, unshaken in face of bitter and prolonged persecution, proving the truth of his mission by infallible methods. He tells us how most of all proofs are found in the fulfilment of prophecies, for Islam combined promises of earthly prosperity such as are found in the Old Testament with promises of bliss in the world to come which are all that the Gospel can offer; and the striking fulfilment of the former provided plentiful assurance of the certainty of the latter.

From time to time he draws comparisons between Mohammed and Jesus, collecting, for instance, the bitter denunciations of the latter against the Jews whose opposition was mildness itself, and contrasting them with the measured warnings of the former to the Quraish. Or, again, the disciples of the two Masters. The first Moslems clung to the prophet through the darkest days. The disciples of Jesus, as soon as trouble arose, all forsook Him and fled.

Now we cannot brush all this aside with contempt.

The very brevity of such a summary as we have given here may suggest a tone of gentle cynicism ; but nothing is further from the writer's mind. It is most salutary for us to realise that it is quite possible for a critic to extract from the Gospels, by thoroughly plausible methods, a picture of Jesus that is not pleasant. We have, of course, our own interpretation, and we are convinced that it is both honest and true. But the point is that a Moslem must not be condemned off-hand either as a fool or a knave for not accepting that interpretation ; and that must be remembered before we lightly charge him with whitewashing his prophet and blaspheming against ours. He has his *tu quoque* ready.

Having said so much by way of *caveat*, we may come to the main point. First we venture to regret that the author has not touched on Mohammed's life in Medina. That may be because Canon Sell had not reached it ; in any case it is a serious omission, for the Meccan period is defensible, but a considerable *tour de force* is needed to help out the conduct on many occasions in Medina. That, however, is a detail at present. The real point is that we are still prepared to maintain that our view of Jesus is the true one, and that the Moslem Mohammed is whitewashed ; and that because we do so on the ground of the most thoroughgoing, systematic criticism that the Universities of Europe have been able to produce. The Moslem who takes up controversy on modern grounds must learn that there is such a thing as unbiassed, scientific research ; that that has been applied to the history of Jesus for a century and to the history of Mohammed for almost as long ; that the criticisms so arrived at by Christians cannot be dismissed simply on the ground that they are Christians. It is too late in the world's history to appeal to the magic names of al Bukhari, Muslim and the rest, as having said the last word in the criticism of hadith ; on the contrary, they failed to do more than lisp the first. Place Harnack by Goldziher—to take two outstanding names—and it is established that the earliest extant written records of the life of Jesus on the most critical showing, date from a time a century at least nearer to his death than in the case

of Mohammed. The evidence for the Meccan period more particularly is very scanty, and has been egregiously worked up by the accretions of following generations. The vast mass of Moslem hadith is valuable not for giving authentic information about the life of Mohammed, but for reflecting the developing ideas of the first two or three centuries of Islam.

How Islam will emerge from the furnace, say half a century hence, is another question and must not be prejudiced. We may at any rate say that just as no religion lives on its rational appeal, so none can be killed by rational criticism. The appeal to the reason must certainly be there, but there is a deeper. A religion holds sway in so far as it appeals to the moral consciousness and spiritual longings of man. Historical criticism deals but with the framework, and, therefore, while on the one hand we venture to utter a warning against any hasty assumption that Islam must decay as soon as European scholarship finds an entrance, we remember on the other that controversy is more important in the study and the class-room by way of preparation than as a weapon for the protagonist in the field.

Cairo. R. F. MacNeile.

C.M.S. HOSPITALS IN MOSLEM LANDS

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The Faith of Islam is one which, in spite of its many points of contact with the Christian Faith, has proved to be the strongest obstacle to the spread of the Gospel. There is, however, one means of influencing the Moslem which has proved to be of much greater efficiency than any other, and that is the agency of medical missions. Whatever Islam has done for its followers it offers little hope in times of sickness and distress, and it is then that the medical missionary finds that he has ready access to the hearts of those who are in need by the exercise of the virtue of Christian compassion. It was thus that Christ Himself lived and worked, and it is surprising that we who are His followers have been slow to learn His methods and to follow in His footsteps. The Church Missionary Society during the past fifty years has taken a prominent part in the work of evangelising Mohammedan lands, and has utilised medical missions as its chief method of winning the people of these countries.

Fifty years ago, in September, 1864, Dr. Elmslie was sent out to Kashmir to found a medical mission, and from that beginning of the chain of medical missions, which now stretch along the north-west frontier of India, including Peshawar, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, Amritsar, Multan and Quetta, not to speak of numerous outstations. In every one of these centres the medical missionaries are the best friends of the people, and they have in many places no more earnest supporters than the Mohammedans themselves.

Dr. Arthur Lankester, of the C.M.S. Medical Mission at Peshawar, on the Afghan Frontier, who has undertaken special work in connection with the prevention of tuberculosis on behalf of the Government of India, recently paid a farewell visit to Charsadda, a place of some 20,000 inhabitants twenty miles from Peshawar, where three years ago he had the greatest difficulty in getting the bigoted Mohammedan

inhabitants to allow one of their number to fulfil his promise to let a sugar warehouse for a branch hospital. On April 17th the inhabitants held a *tamasha* (demonstration) as a fervid expression of gratitude for the work of the medical mission, and Dr. Lankester and Dr. J. F. Richardson were received with great enthusiasm. Mohammedans and Hindus alike vied with one another in carrying out the most energetic and effusive demonstrations of appreciation. The change in the attitude of the people from one of suspicion and actual hostility to one of cordial goodwill and friendship, is entirely due to the agency of the medical mission.

A truly apostolic succession of men and women have been in charge of these mission hospitals, but it would be invidious to single out for special mention any of the workers who are now living. We may refer, however, to the remarkable influence exerted by the late Dr. T. L. Pennell among the fanatical Afghan tribes with whom he was brought in contact, and the greater result of his work which is seen to-day in the band of devoted converts who have been brought to Christ through the medical mission, whilst some have sealed their testimony by their deaths, true martyrs for Christ's sake.

The opening of a medical mission at Julfa (a suburb of Ispahan) in Persia, by Dr. Höerle, was the next great step forward in medical missionary work for Moslems, and few missionary undertakings have been fraught with more striking consequences than the three medical missions at Ispahan, Yezd and Kerman, which have now been established, and it is largely due to these mission hospitals that missionary work of any kind has been possible in Persia throughout a long period of political unrest. Here, too, as in India, the influence of the medical missionary has been a powerful one on the side of peace.

Palestine and Turkish Arabia were the next two fields in which medical missions were established, doctors being appointed to Gaza and Baghdad in the same year, 1886. As to the effect of medical missions in Palestine, two sentences may be quoted from an article written by the Bishop of London in 1912, after a visit to Egypt and the Holy Land. He wrote :—

"The fact which emerges from a visit to the Near East is the wonderful influence of Medical Missions." . . . "As far as I could see, the most influential people in the Near East were the Christian doctors."

The Bishop was no doubt referring to other medical missions than those of the C.M.S., but the hospitals at Gaza, Nablus, Jaffa and Salt must have been particularly in his mind as well as those in Old Cairo and Omdurman.

The way in which the Medical Missions of Baghdad and Mosul have gained the enthusiastic support of the people among whom they are placed is particularly noteworthy, seeing that their chief difficulties have arisen not from Moslem opposition but from the failure of the home church to supply the needed recruits adequately to carry on the work.

Old Cairo Medical Mission was opened in 1889, and not only is it a centre of great influence among the people but it gained the wholehearted sympathy of the representatives of the government. The building of a new hospital at Omdurman during the present year forms a fitting memorial not only to the founder of this medical mission, the late Dr. Chorley Hall, but to General Gordon, who had a deep interest in medical missions.

Medical mission work was begun in Eastern Equatorial Africa in 1875 and in Uganda in 1891, and in both of these centres both Moslems and heathen have been reached, and with splendid results. Various attempts have been made to reach the Moslems of Northern Nigeria by means of medical missions. The writer of this article found splendid opportunities for his work in Nupe territory, but later workers in the Hausa States met with so much opposition that the establishment of a fully equipped medical mission has not yet been carried out.

From this short sketch of medical mission work amongst Moslems in connection with the C.M.S., it will be realised that great things have already been accomplished. It is not possible for obvious reasons to say much about the converts of these missions, but it is a striking fact that in an account of a series of fourteen converts of the medical missions of the C.M.S. recently published in *Mercy and Truth*, six of these were converts from Mohammedanism.

CHARLES F. HARFORD, M.D.

C.M.S., London.

NOTES ON CURRENT TOPICS

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Missions in North Africa.

The American Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church held its fifth annual session in Algiers, November 12th—16th, under the joint episcopal supervision of Bishops Hartzell and Anderson. Before the Conference session the Bishops and Dr. Frease, the superintendent, visited all the centres of the Mission's work from Oran on the West to Tunis on the East, and points in the farther interior. Martial law was in force everywhere, and many war conditions were met with; but the friendliness of those in authority, both civil and military, to the representatives of the work and to the missionaries, prevented any complications. Interviews were held with the chiefs in authority at every centre, the most important being with the Governor-General at Algiers. He expressed a desire to meet not only the Bishops but the members of the Mission, and over thirty, including several native Arab and Kabyle workers, were received by the Governor. The brief addresses by the French pastor in Algiers, Bishop Anderson and Bishop Hartzell, gave frank expression to the spirit and plans of Christian missionary work, and of appreciation of what the French government is doing by schools, industrial training, and wise paternal government toward the uplift of the millions of native Arabs and Kabyles under its care.

The reply of the Governor was appreciative and cordial. It was felt by all who participated, that this interview when interpreted by the spirit and treatment of the various local governors and the change of attitude manifest recently toward the work of the Mission, marks a new epoch in the relations of French officials and administration and evangelical missions in North Africa.

The various reports by the thirty-nine missionaries and native workers were very encouraging. At Constantine two important decisions have been recently rendered, one by a French Judge and the other by an Arab Kadi. Each gave authority to Arab guardians, in spite of fanatical opposition, to place Moslem boys and girls in the schools of the Mission. The Mission has six Boys' and Girls' Homes, three of each, in different cities, in which are over seventy under Christian instruction. The inmates attend the public schools, and the government co-operates in having the boys taught trades.

A decidedly forward step was taken in providing for the publication of literature in the vernacular language of the people, both Arab and Kabyle. This was made possible by funds received through Bishop Hartzell from the Committee on the Moslem World, of the World's Sunday School Association. The publications will be as far as practicable in both the Arabic and Kabyle languages, and consist of hymn books, the catechism, popular tracts on religious subjects, and stories of the Bible in popular rhyme, to be committed to memory and sung by the Moslem children. The Early Christian Church in North Africa neglected to give the Word of God to the native peoples in their own

language. No greater mistake could have been made in the judgment of the leaders of this important Mission. Hence the recent plan.

Raymund Lull Home, Tangier.

This work was begun in Tangier about twelve years ago when Mr. Elson, seeing the need of Moslem boys in Morocco, began by taking one or two into his own house to teach and train. As time went on the number of boys increased until it became evident that if the work was to continue a suitable place must be found. The Lord met this need by sending the means to build a small schoolroom and also to convert an old stable and some sheds into a fairly comfortable dormitory. Having more accommodation, regular school work was begun, with a native to teach the boys shoe making, and in addition a certain amount of garden work was done.

Our lease having expired, we were compelled to make another move ; this time some distance from the town, where we have some fifteen acres of ground and a building called the Raymund Lull house and large enough to accommodate thirty or more boys. Usually they are brought to us by their parents or relatives, but some have come quite alone. On one occasion a boy came and asked to be taken into the home. He said he had nobody to care for him, his father had been dead some time, and only yesterday he had buried his mother. We decided to take him, but the next day his mother came in great distress, saying her boy had run away from her and that she had been looking everywhere for him. She allowed him to stay, however, and he has been with us some years and is now pupil teacher in the school.

Most of the boys are in a wretched condition when they come, some with not more than a few rags to cover them. The length of time they stay varies, some are with us only a few months, others have remained several years. This depends very much upon the parents, who very often take them away, and also when they run away do not insist upon their returning. Those lads who have been with us any length of time we have been able to apprentice to a trade, or have found them situations.

Whilst all the boys get an elementary education and general training, yet our main object is to teach them the Scriptures and to endeavour to lead them to Christ. Few have professed conversion during their stay with us, and many when they leave us are bigoted Moslems, yet the following instance is one of encouragement :—

B—— was a lad from the Riff country, and a general favourite in the home. He was with us some years, and when old enough apprenticed to the printing trade, but being of a very restless temperament did not stay at it long ; he then got employment at a tobacco factory, and afterwards was working at the Port. Eventually he joined the French army, and when war was declared he was sent in the Moroccan Legion to the front. In one of the engagements he was wounded, and was for some time a patient in St. Malo military hospital. Whilst there he wrote to us saying : " I have not forgotten all that you taught me when I was in the home ; I know that only the Lord Jesus can cleanse my heart from sin. I now believe in Him."

Thus the " Lord will hasten His word to perform it," and we ask the prayers of all who are interested in the Moslem world that it may please God to bless this effort to reach the Moslem lads of Morocco, and that He to whom alone we look may graciously supply every need.

N. E. J.

The British Government's Note to Sultan Hussein.

The declaration made on December 18th, deposing the Khedive and appointing Prince Hussein Kamil Pasha as Sultan of Egypt, will doubtless mean much for Egypt's future, both in economic development and intellectual progress. Whether it will mean an increase of religious liberty and acknowledgment of Christian institutions, such as the Sabbath, remains to be seen. One is not reassured, however, by the letter which was addressed to the new Sultan and published in the Egyptian papers of December 19th. The assurance of religious liberty to all Egyptians was expected, but surely it was not necessary for the British Government to declare that they "take a deep interest in the strengthening and progress of Mohammedan institutions." One of these Mohammedan institutions, namely, slavery, has been abolished; another, polygamy, is waning. Surely it is not the object of Great Britain to reinstate that which Islam itself is abandoning. The text of the closing paragraphs of this proclamation may prove interesting reading :—

"The religious convictions of Egyptian subjects will be scrupulously respected as are those of His Majesty's own subjects, whatever their creed. Nor need I affirm to Your Highness that, in declaring Egypt free from any duty of obedience to those who have usurped political power at Constantinople, His Majesty's Government are animated by no hostility towards the political bonds between Egypt and Constantinople.

The strengthening and progress of Mohammedan institutions in Egypt is naturally a matter in which His Majesty's Government take a deep interest, and with which Your Highness will be specially concerned, and in carrying out such reforms as may be considered necessary Your Highness may count upon the sympathetic support of His Majesty's Government.

I am to add that His Majesty's Government rely with confidence upon the loyalty, the good sense and self-restraint of Egyptian subjects to facilitate the task of the General Officer Commanding His Majesty's Forces, who is entrusted with the maintenance of internal order, and with the prevention of the rendering of aid to the enemy.

I avail myself of this opportunity to present to Your Highness the assurance of my highest respect. MILNE CHEETHAM.

Cairo : *December 19th*, 1914."

The Cairo Christian University.

The Board of Trustees, selected to work out the preliminary steps for the construction and maintenance of a Christian university at Cairo, Egypt, patterned after the great American universities, held its first meeting on December 1st, 1914, at the Union League Club, New York. The board is going ahead with its work, notwithstanding the conditions in Egypt due to the war. In fact, it was pointed out at the meeting that the war would undoubtedly free Egypt entirely from the influence of Turkey, and thus fresh opportunities for educational and missionary work along the lines proposed would be supplied when peace was brought about. It was announced that the Board now had subscriptions of $200,000, and active work is being carried on to raise a fund of $2,000,000, which will be necessary to establish the university. It is expected that by the time the war is over the Board will be in a position to begin the actual work of erecting buildings. Already inspections have been made of possible sites.

The secretary of the Board of Trustees is Rev. Charles R. Watson, D.D., of Philadelphia, and the treasurer Mr. E. E. Olcott, New York. Of the proposed university the trustees have this to say :—" It must be a university. Though including an undergraduate or collegiate department, its educational aim reaches further. Post graduate courses and professional schools, whose standards of thoroughness and whose broad cultural spirit are undeniable, must establish for this institution its university claim. It must be a Christian university. Its promoters have never conceived of it as sectarian, but they have emphasised its Christian character as a supreme requirement."

The university is to include a collegiate department, a graduate school, with courses in Arabic literature and history, Islamic theology and criticism, biblical archæology and political science, education, Christian apologetics, agriculture, engineering, law, and journalism.

Reconciling Cross and Crescent.

Among the many attempts being made to bridge the chasm between the Cross and the Crescent, perhaps the most curious is that recently suggested by a retired government engineer of Alexandria, Kassem Bey Hilali. It is indicative at least of a spirit of reconciliation, although in itself it is nothing more than an arithmetical curiosity and an illustration of the vagaries of the Moslem mind. The engineer in question recently published a coloured and illustrated handbook with pictures of symbolical significance. In the centre of the sheet is a balance, in one scale of which is a cross and its Arabic name, *salib* ; and in the other a crescent and the Arabic word, *islam* or Islamism ; while above the fulcrum of the balance is the word Allah or God, and below it the word *qalb* or heart.

By adding the value of the letters of the word Allah (every letter of the Arabic alphabet has a value, as those acquainted with Arabic know) together, the Bey finds that they make 132, which, divided by two, is 66, which is equivalent to the value of the letters of the word *qalb* or heart. Again, by adding together the value of the letters of the word *islam*, he finds that they make 132, which is exactly the same as that of the word *salib* or cross. Moreover, the figures representing *islam*, placed in the right scale of the balance, which are 132, make 6 if added from right to left, and those representing *salib*, if added from left to right, make the same figure ; and both placed where they meet side by side make 66, which is the equivalent of the word *Allah*, a fact which, according to the ingenious engineer, proves the concord that ought to exist among the elements of those who profess both religions.

There are also mottoes and quotations from the Koran to show that there is to be no compulsion in religion, and that Islam teaches a universal brotherhood.

The Latest Mohammedan Apologetic.

The *Habl ul Matin* is publishing a series of articles on the Evidences of Islam. Our readers will be able to judge the character of this latest apologetic if we quote a paragraph or two regarding the prophet and the Koran. The writer begins by saying that the evidences of Islam are of the same nature as those generally advanced in favour of Christianity ; and that inasmuch as Islam claims to be the fulfilment and completion of Christianity, all evidence which tends to establish the divine origin of the Scriptures is so much evidence for, and not against Islam. Regarding Mohammed he says :—

"No bad man could possibly have conceived or would have promulgated so perfect and stringent a code of morals, or one so emphatically denouncing the wrath of God upon hypocrisy and sin, as the Koran is and does; and no good man would or could put forward such a work if he was not assured of its divine authority. The Prophet could not possibly, therefore, have been an imposter, neither could he have been a mere enthusiast or fanatic, or a self-deluded man, or one misled by others, for none of these could by any possibility have produced a work like the Koran, published in the manner in which it was, and possessing the characteristics it presents; neither could any of these have lived the consistent, blameless, open life that the Prophet did."

A School for the Study of Arabic at Kingsmead, Birmingham.

A School for the Study of Arabic has been opened with eight students, who are missionaries on enforced furlough, at Kingsmead, Selly Oak, Birmingham, the training institution of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association. The services of Dr. Alphonse Mingana have been secured, the author of "Leaves from Three Ancient Qur'âns," and probably one of the first authorities on sacred and literary Arabic and the Qur'ân. Colloquial Arabic is taught by Munib Ghurayib of Beyrout, and also an Egyptian, and is given as far as possible singly and in close connection with the class on Phonetics.

Mr. Hoyland, the organiser of the school, writes that "the students now in residence express themselves in appreciative terms of the opportunity that is offered. Dr. Mingana is a quite exceptional teacher, and the colloquial classes combined with Phonetics are going well. Those now here seem anxious that the work should continue through the summer term. This we shall be glad to do if circumstances admit, but at present we are not able to say definitely that we shall be able to retain the services of Dr. Mingana. There is every probability of our being able to do so, however, and we shall be glad to hear of other students. There is accommodation for several more."

Syllabus of Lectures. Spring Term, 1915.

Arabic Class. Dr. A. Mingana. 11—12. Mondays, Tuesdays, Fridays and Saturdays.
Study of Quran. Dr. A. Mingana. 12—1. Mondays, Tuesdays, Fridays and Saturdays.
Colloquial Arabic. Munib Ghurayib. In the afternoons.
Islam. (A special course of six lectures). The Rev. H. U. Weitbrecht, D.D.
Missionary Theory and Practice. Discussion Class. The Rev. H. A. Lapham.
Phonetics. Mr. Frank Jones. 8 p.m., Mondays.

The Woking Mosque Mission.

In continuation of the article on this in the April number, 1914, of this Review, I note what has transpired of its development during the interval.

The Islamic Review has entered on its third year, and now has on its cover a rough pen and ink sketch of the mosque. The tenor and literary merit of its articles is much the same as before. If any reader of these lines is interested in gauging them, he will save time

and money by getting a copy of "A Western Awakening to Islam," published last summer by Lord Headley (Phillips, Shoe Lane). This little book consists largely of extracts from the Review, and gives the substance of its contents. The compiler propounds as his object, how to westernise Islam. In dealing with inquirers, only the vital points of Islam are to be insisted on: outward forms and ceremonies are not necessary. Presumably one may belong to the Woking flock without Arabic prayers or purification or fasting; O shades of the four orthodox doctors! It will be interesting to see the form of Islam that will develop on the foundations of faith without the pillars of duty. The essential identity of Islam and Christianity is asseverated. It is proved by rationalising Christianity and modifying Islam. "Dogma," as ever, is the great bugbear. It is derided with elephantine facetiousness, by citing incredibly silly stories. Of course, there are no "dogmas" in Islam, only doctrines which may be proved by reason, such proof being obviously inconsistent with the nature of a "dogma." The unity of the faiths is celebrated in rhymes such as this:—

> Then Mahomet, Thy chosen son,
> Inspired by fire divine,
> Laid down the law, the greatest one,
> Which must forever shine.

The observant reader will discover a footnote explaining that "son" is not used of Mohammed in the sense in which Christians use it of Jesus.

Islam is the religion of tolerance. When was a tribe ever converted to Islam as the result of war? When did a Moslem who was foolish enough to leave "the simplicity of faith" ever suffer the penalty of death? In fact, there probably are no genuine converts from Islam to Christianity: apparent conversions are a mere matter of money. Of course the case of converts to Islam is absolutely different. The character of Mohammed is defended, and the character of Christ belittled, on lines familiar to the newer school of Moslem apologists. The Mohammedan conception of Paradise is defended on the principle of continuity; "the idea of heaven without women is unthinkable." If this has any meaning it must refer to the sex relationship between men and women, an unusual position for modern apologists of Islam. Lord Headley was surprised at first to find that the Lord's Prayer is not included in the Koran, but he presently discovered that it contains the same thing in effect. The *Sura Fatiha* is dubbed "The Lord's Prayer of Islam," and commented on in the manner of Christian preachers. Careful imitation of the hortatory and expository style of Christian writers is a noticeable feature in this book and in the Review.

Another aspect of the westernising of Islam is the inculcation of loyalty on the part of Moslems to Christian rulers who govern them with justice and friendliness. It is a pity that a sensible position should be supported by such arguments as this: "Can you name any other book [than the Koran] which aims at enjoining upon its followers the necessity of respecting the rights of others and of yielding implicit obedience to the laws of the government of the country?" This ignorance as to facts and crudity of presentation disfigure the whole book. Where Arabic is quoted on p. 90, "giving to kindred" is made to appear as a thing forbidden by the Koran.

The June number of *The Islamic Review* contained a list in Persian of 25 converts claimed by the leader. Of these, 7 are married women,

one being the wife of a Moslem gentleman : 7 are single women : 10 are men : one is merely " lady." A Dane, a Russian and an Italian occur among the number. The rest belong to England and Scotland. In the December number twelve contributors gave European names. It is difficult to find out the exact status of these persons, with the exception of Lord Headley, and two who are known at Woking. Khwaja Kamalud Din is reported to have made the pilgrimage to Mecca last autumn and afterwards to have visited India. In Lahore he was acclaimed as the converter of the west. *The Pioneer*, of Allahabad, recently corrected in all seriousness the report widely circulated among Indian Mohammedans, that the German Kaiser had become a Musalman. But that is another story.

In Woking I am told that attempts at a Moslem Sunday School soon collapsed. A sprinkling of outsiders attend the Sunday lectures at the little mosque. A short handbill explaining the relation and difference between Islam and Christianity was written and circulated with good effect. H. U. WEITBRECHT.

"The Comrade" on Woking as a Moslem Centre.

The Indian Moslem press regards Woking as the chief mission station of Islam in England. A recent number of *The Comrade* speaks of the progress of the work and of the opposition there as follows :—

" The Moslem missionary work in England appears to be making headway, though slowly, through the enormous difficulties that the workers have naturally to face. The first stage in a missionary effort is to awaken interest among people for the spiritual message that he bears to them, and it is gratifying to know that through Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din Saheb's devoted work and perseverance at his centre in Woking, a seed has been planted that promises to bring forth abundant fruit. Indeed, from the manner in which Christian clergymen have begun to talk of the ' Moslem danger ' at Woking, it would appear that the Khwaja Saheb's work has been unusually successful. Sermons are delivered and organised efforts are being made to overcome the menace of Islam and save Woking from the effect of the Moslem propaganda. At the annual meeting of the Woking and District Federation of the Church of England Men's Society, which was held last month, the Rev. E. R. P. Devereux, commenting on the work of the various branches of the society, is reported to have said that ' they in Woking were being faced with a great difficulty with regard to Mohammedanism. The Mohammedan headquarters for England had been established in the heart of the parish. An active Mohammedan propaganda was going on which was being very cleverly and very insiduously organised, and their Bishop recently gave emphasis to the fact of the great difficulty that they had there in facing that situation which was being created. Much time had been spent to disseminate information as to the true character of Islam, and important steps had been taken in making clear what were the principles of the Christian faith in contra-distinction to the principles which the followers of Islam upheld. The branch was very much alive to the difficulty with which it was faced.' Allah be praised for his great mercy ! "

The Edinburgh Islamic Society.

From the Edinburgh University Students' Handbook (1914-15) we learn that this Society, instituted in 1908, meets in the University Union fortnightly on Sunday afternoons during the winter and summer

terms. The objects of the society are : (1) To promote the religious, social, moral, intellectual and commercial advancement of the Moslem world. (2) To provide and maintain means of social and literary intercourse for its members. (3) To remove misconceptions prevailing among non-Moslems regarding Islam and its believers. (4) To render legitimate assistance to the best of its ability to any Moslem requiring it. (5) To provide facilities for conducting religious ceremonies. (6) To hold debates and socials, and to read papers likely to further the interests of Islam. (7) To acquire, arrange and preserve literary and scientific works on Islamic subjects for the use of its members. (8) To collect funds in order to carry out the various objects of the Society. The Patron is H.H. the Khedive of Egypt, and among the vice-presidents is the Rt. Hon. Syed Amir Ali.

A Needy Field Among the Moros.

A recent number of the *Missionary Herald* calls attention to the fact that the work of the Congregational Church in the Philippines is among civilised Filipinos, Moro Mohammedans and pagans. The first mentioned have afforded a great harvest field, and have turned from the formalism of Romanism to the message of the living Gospel. The work among the pagans is also promising.

The great Moro field embodies the Cotobato and Llanao districts and the Zamboanga peninsula, with the adjacent small islands southward, namely, Basilian and the Sulu Archipelago. It is doubtless the largest and hardest field in the islands. The population runs to between 300,000 and 400,000. The Moro is the known fighter. His hand is against every man. He respects only the arm of Mohammed and the arm of force.

Next to the absolute pagan he stands in need of the gospel. There is no hope for him except through the cross—a change from carnal to spiritual ; through that change the Moro would doubtless be one of the greatest factors for good in the islands. The people who can fight well can love much, both their neighbours and their Master. Cowards are of little use in temporal or spiritual affairs. This great field of Mohammedan Moros has waited in mute silence for the Congregational Church of America to give it the " Bread of Life," yet fifteen years have swept by and not a single school, dispensary, chapel, or worker, has been placed among them by the Congregational Church.

Moslem Women of Russia.

A Moslem Congress, attended by forty delegates from European and Asiatic Russia, was held last summer at St. Petersburg (Petrograd), with the authorisation of the Minister of the Interior. The meetings have reflected a strong determination among the Moslem subjects of Emperor Nicholas to uphold their religious, social, and educational rights. The establishment in St. Petersburg of a centralised authority to look after the interests of Mohammedans throughout the Russian Empire was advocated by many speakers.

The Mohammedan woman in the light of to-day was also discussed, and her cause applauded when Akmud Kuramshin, a member of the first Duma, declared that without the education of women it would be impossible to effect progress among the Mohammedans.

" If certain old Mullahs continue to proclaim from the mosques that women have no need of education," he said, " they simply speak from ignorance." The Akmud went so far as to say every woman over twenty-one years of age should have a vote on questions affecting

the community at large. In regard to matrimony, he contended that both parties should be asked before the marriage ceremony whether they were voluntarily entering into the contract. This, he said, would eventually put a stop to the idea that Mohammedan women were so many chattels.

The Bible for the Kurds.

Mr. Geo. P. Knapp writes from Harpoot to the Agent of the American Bible Society as follows :—" During this year (1914) we have taken special interest in the distribution and influence of the Bible among the Moslems. Through your own colporteurs and agents you have learned how many copies of the Scriptures (in whole or in part) have become the propetry of Moslems in this mission, and what incidents are connected with the desire of these people to possess and read them. An incident which took place during a typhus epidemic at Van has attracted our attention. A Turkish officer, who was a patient in our hospital, got so much interested in a copy of the Bible which he got hold of, that he not only studiously read it himself, but read it also to many of his Moslem fellow-patients.

" We think the time has come to give special attention to the Moslem Kurds. We were glad to recommend in this meeting that Dr. Andrus, of Mardin, be allowed to give a large part of his time to the translation work of the Bible Society. We are glad that he has already been able to do considerable translation, and transliteration of existing translations into the Arabic characters, which possess a kind of sacredness to the Moslem. We would recommend that the translation of the whole Bible into the Arabo-Kurdish (Quoormanjee) be pressed to completion as soon as possible. Knowing the passionate fondness of the Kurds for musical poetry, we would suggest that among the first things to be made accessible to them should be a versified translation of the Psalms."

The Work of the Swedish Mission at Kashgar and Yarkand.

The Swedish missionaries, L. E. Hogberg and Dr. G. Raquette, report progress in their medical and educational work at Kashgar and Yarkand. A conference was held at the latter place recently, and plans were made for opening new work at Khotan, ten days' journey south-east of Yarkand. It is planned to open an orphanage. At the two hospitals of this mission, 17,114 patients were treated in a single year. An interesting incident is given regarding the gratitude of one of their patients.

" Some patients are very thankful. One, a workman, was blind, and had to beg his daily bread. He heard of some who ' had received their sight ' at the hospital. Taking his only child, a girl of five years, to conduct him, they reached the hospital after three days' walk. The man was operated on, received his sight in both eyes, and in his great gratitude he said, ' I am poor. I have nothing to give you, but I have this child. I give *her* to you.' He gave the child, and she is now being trained at the mission school."

The Swedish Missionary Society, which has a number of flourishing mission stations in Chinese Turkestan, announces that the medical work in its three hospitals—at Kashgar, Yarkand, and Yengi Hessar—not only pays its own costs, aside from missionaries' salaries, but turns over a considerable sum to other work. The new buildings at one station were entirely paid for by surplus from the Kashgar hospital.

The press of the Swedish Missionary Society in Chinese Turkestan has circulated 8,000 copies of the Gospels in Kashgar-Turkish ; also a grammar for students of the language, as well as other text-books. It also issues a bi-monthly journal in the same tongue, the only publication of the sort in that country.

Conference of Native Workers in Java.

From the *Orgaan der Nederlandsche Zendingsvereeniging* we learn that a second general conference for Javanese catechists and teachers was held in July last at Pangharepan, West Java. Fifty delegates were present, most of them converted Moslems. Among the topics discussed was the Relation of the present-day intellectual Movements in Java (especially the " Sarikat Islam ") to Missions, and the answer seemed to be in the negative, although it is too early yet to judge of the tendencies of this movement. One of the papers read was entitled Conversion and its Significance in Islam. Goeroe Markus stated that the conception of conversion in Islam and in Christianity is totally distinct. The Moslem convert relies upon himself, his own piety, his good works ; the Christian convert on Christ, and not on himself. The whole discussion was full of interest.

On the second day the main topic of discussion was, Are there points of contact in Islam for Evangelisation ? Other topics considered include the Progress of the Javanese Christian Church, viz. : self support ; The Place of education in evangelisation ; How can the teacher secure contact with his pupils and retain it after they leave school ; and The Distinction between mission schools and government schools in their policy. The very fact that such a conference is necessary and was so well attended, shows the progress of the work in West Java.

A Question of Mission Strategy in Java.

A lively discussion has taken place in the mission periodicals of the Netherlands in regard to their general mission policy in the East Indies. The question is, whether work should be carried on among the large Moslem population of Java first and foremost, or whether the winning of the animistic heathen tribes in danger of becoming a prey to Islam, should have precedence. Dr. Kuyper, ex-premier, has written a long article on the subject in *De Banier*, Weltevreden, Java, in which he expresses grave doubts in regard to the fruitfulness of work among Moslems, and advocates work outside of Java as more imperative. He draws these conclusions from his visit to the Near East. The book, describing this journey and his observations, has been reviewed in our columns. No one, however, at all acquainted with actual conditions in the Near East, can have such a pessimistic view as that expressed in this book and the article mentioned. We are not surprised, therefore, that missionaries in Java are presenting their side of the case and advocating not the abandonment of work for Moslems, but its expansion and its strategic importance in the present crisis. Dr. Kuyper admits that the work in Java is important, but thinks it can be postponed, while that in the districts not yet Moslem must be undertaken immediately. We question, however, whether the best method of winning the heathen tribes in the Archipelago would not be that of a strong and aggressive effort among Moslems in Java itself, especially in view of the results already seen among the Moslems there.

The Call of India.

In the *Harvest Field* for September appeared the following editorial note on the need for an All-India Mission for Moslems :—

" Some few years ago efforts were made in South India to direct the attention of the churches to the need of more workers among Mussalmans in India. Then those responsible for such work told us that the necessity in Africa was far greater than in India, and the home churches should expend all their energies there. Recently the question has been revived in Bombay. The Rev. A. J. P. French, S.P.G., appeals to his Metropolitan to bring the question before the leaders of the Anglican Church in England. Various missionaries have endorsed the appeal, and Canon Sell urges the co-ordination of all the missions into an All-India Mission, by which workers could be transferred from one part of India to another and adequate training given to evangelists.

" The appeal states that during the decade 40,000 Hindus became Muslims, and that some Christians had also joined their ranks. Last month we reported the activity of the Moplahs on the West Coast in their work of proselytising among the Hindus ; and we are sure that the present indifference of the Christian missions of India to the Muhammadan population is working harm in many ways. Muslims are passing through a period of doubt, questioning and change, and very little Christian influence is brought to bear upon those who are in this uncertain state of mind. We require a number of thoughtful, tactful, spiritual workers, who are conversant with Muslim thought and the currents of opinion in Muhammadan countries, and who will show the young men of to-day how Jesus Christ meets their needs in a way that Muhammad cannot.

" The appeal should not be to the Anglican Church only but to all the churches ; and if all would co-operate in one large All-India Mission for Muslims, and work on similar lines, the effect upon the Muhammadans of India would be potent and far-reaching. Strategic centres should be occupied, adequate training for workers supplied, helpful literature in Urdu and other vernaculars prepared and circulated, and every effort made to present Jesus Christ to the Muslims of India, many of whom are seeking a more satisfactory faith than that which has been handed down to them by the traditions of their fathers."

Islam in Burma.

According to the Census of 1911 the population of Burma is as follows :—

	Totals.	*Increase per cent.* 1901-11.
Buddhist ...	10,384,597	13
Animist ...	701,473	*76
Hindu ...	389,679	36
Muslim ...	420,777	24
Christian ...	210,081	42

" Over 52 per cent. of the Muhammadan inhabitants of Burma dwell in the districts of the Coast Ranges, where they form 14.72 per cent. of the total population. This high percentage is principally due to the number of Muhammadans in Akyab (186,323), where they comprise 33.66 per cent., or over one-third of the population of the district. Indeed, in this one district, 44 per cent. of the Muhammadans of the Province are congregated."

* Due to fact that previously many Animists were reckoned as Hindus.

The increase during the decade was due to immigration and intermarriage with the Burmese. That the Muslim immigrant in Burma is of a superior type is evident from the figures concerning literacy. We learn that the proportion of literacy among Muslims in India is only 33 per thousand, but for the Muhammadan community in Burma it amounts to 178 per thousand. The reason given is that "The great majority of the immigrants from India are recruited to perform urban occupations, many of which are only open to literate persons." In India, the proportion of literate females amongst Muslims is as low as three per thousand, but in Burma it is as high as 77.

TOPICS FOR INTERCESSION AND THANKSGIVING

(Suggested in this number of our Quarterly)

THANKSGIVING that Egypt has been preserved from disturbance and dissension; and Prayer that special wisdom may be given to the new Government and the Military Authorities.

Prayer for all Christian missionaries and communities throughout Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine.

Prayer for the work of the White Fathers and other Roman Catholic missionaries among the Mohammedans, that they may preach the whole Truth in love and without compromise; and that in their literary efforts, as well as in the occupation of new territory, they and we may observe a spirit of comity and show a united front over against Islam.

For Damascus and Bugia, that the blood of Christian martyrs may in both prove the seed of the Church.

For the educated Mohammedans of India, that reform movements there and in Malaysia may be helpful toward the work of evangelisation.

For the Bahais everywhere, that they may see the true glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ and be delivered from religious deception.

For mission hospitals in Moslem lands, that the ministry of healing may reach the soul as well as the body, and that spiritual results may be as evident as the marvels of medical skill.

For world-wide and permanent peace.

BOOK REVIEWS

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Raymond Lull : The Illuminated Doctor. A Study in Mediæval Missions. By W. T. A. BARBER, D.D. Pp. 172. London : Charles H. Kelly. 1903. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Le Bienheureux Raymond Lulle. Par MARIUS ANDRÉ. Pp. 216. Paris : Lecoffre. Second edition. 1900.

Raymund Lull : First Missionary to the Moslems. By S. M. ZWEMER. Pp. 172. New York : Funk and Wagnalls. 1902. 75 cents.

We call attention to these three biographies of Raymund Lull at this time in connection with the articles contained in this number. The first deals specially with Lull as a doctor of the schools as well as a martyr of the Church, and shows how he joined with Roger Bacon in a plea for the necessity of a complete scientific education for missionaries. The chronological summary is specially valuable, as is also the Table of Lull's books.

The second biography is from a Roman Catholic standpoint, and appeared in a collection of Lives of the Saints, published under the direction of M. Henri Joly. It contains considerable material not found in the other two biographies.

The last-named biography portrays Lull as the first and greatest missionary to Moslems, and is illustrated. Translations of this biography have appeared in German (Wiesbaden : Sudan Pionier Mission, 1912), and in Arabic (Cairo : Nile Mission Press, 1914).

Correspondence respecting the Events leading to the Rupture of British Relations with Turkey. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, November, 1914, and published under Royal authority. London. Pp. 76.

These documents form a closely knit sequence of evidence, the main purport of which is that the Turkish Government, while professing to desire neutrality and peace, gradually came under the dictatorship of Enver Pasha, who was working in the closest partnership with the German military and naval missions. The evidence gathered by Sir Louis Mallet clearly proves that Enver Pasha was deliberately intriguing for revolution in Egypt, and that as early as September 25th aggressive Turkish preparations were taking place in Gaza and along the Sinai frontier. When Sir Louis Mallet protested that these were distinctly hostile acts, the Grand Vizier denied the truth of the reports, and assured the ambassador that he was doing his utmost to hold Turkey to a policy of neutrality. Even to the last Sir Louis believed that the Grand Vizier and the whole cabinet, excepting Enver Pasha, were bent on maintaining peace. The question then arises, How could the minister of war wield such a decisive influence and actually force both cabinet and parliament into submission to his policy ? The

answer is, I believe, a simple one. Enver Pasha had the Army at the back of him, and the other ministers did not have the courage of their convictions because they feared assassination. It may be, however, that the Grand Vizier was playing a most subtle part, at heart desiring to draw Turkey into the war and deliberately deceiving the ambassadors of the Allies until the favourable moment should arrive.

In any case, the documents prove the steady stream of German officers, sailors, rifles, mines, gold coin upwards of £3,000,000, submarines, guns, and other munitions pouring into Turkey. The most dramatic features of the correspondence are the statements of Robert Mors, the German spy in Egypt, who turned State's evidence.

But is there no right on the Turkish side? What shall be said of the contention made by the minister of marine that England was treating Egypt as if it belonged to her, whereas it formed part of the Ottoman dominions? The answer to this is, that absolutely no hostile or aggressive acts were performed by the British in Egypt, that a just and stable government was maintained, and that had Turkey remained neutral the status of Egypt would by no means have been altered. That Turkey has taken this desperate action is, no doubt, a most serious fact for Great Britain, under whose rule 90,000,000 Moslems live. Vast Mohammedan problems turn upon the outcome of the war. The very continuance of the Turkish Caliphate is problematical.

But as for the initiative force which precipitated this war between Great Britain and Turkey, it is clearly neither from Constantinople nor from London, but from Berlin. From the German point of view, the very fact of this war is a diplomatic and military achievement of very considerable magnitude. For Great Britain it is a serious annoyance; for Turkey it is likely to be suicidal; for Germany it is a means of dividing the enemy, and at the same time nerving the courage of the fatherland. But what will *God* say?

STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER TROWBRIDGE.

Foreigners in Turkey: Their Juridical Status. By PHILIP MARSHALL BROWN, Assistant Professor of International Law and Diplomacy in Princeton University; formerly Secretary and Chargé d'Affaires of the American Embassy in Constantinople, and Minister to Honduras. University Press, Princeton, and Oxford University Press. 1914. 166 pp.; 12mo. $1.25 net.

Published in the summer of 1914, this careful study of the rights and privileges of foreigners in Turkey already, by the rapid march of events, bids fair to become a record of obsolete customs.

The official position of the writer afforded him a first-hand acquaintance with the intricacies and anomalies of the system in vogue under the Capitulations, while at the same time he shows marked sympathy with Turkey in the humiliation endured by the interference with her sovereign rights, and seems to consider her capable of being "allowed a normal, independent development as an equal member in the family of nations."

In an interesting and minute historical survey, the origin of the exterritorial rights of foreigners in Turkey is traced to a commercial basis rather than to a religious one. At the same time it is admitted that the peculiarity of a Moslem Government which "confounds race, religion and law as one and the same thing," necessitates special guarantees for the personal status of non-Moslems, whether her own subjects or foreigners.

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The contention of the writer is, that "instead of treating immunities of jurisdiction as exceptions to international law, and hence, as affronts to Turkish sovereignty, they may properly be regarded as evidence of a more enlightened and a more liberal interpretation of the law of nations than has yet been granted in Europe, the place of its origin, though not of its exclusive development, or application."

The volume has special interest at the present time, and is well indexed. M. L. JOHNSTON.

The Church of Armenia: Her history, doctrine, rule, discipline, liturgy, literature, and existing condition. By MALACHIA ORMANIAN. Translated by G. MARCAR GREGORY, V.D. Pp. 226. A. R. Mowbray and Company, Limited. London. 1912. 5*s*. net.

This book, whose author was the Patriarch of Constantinople, gives the reader a clear summary of the origin of the Armenian Church, of the early period of her existence, and of the vicissitudes of her history. The book ends with a statement of her present leading position among the Monophysites. Special chapters give valuable information as to the doctrine of this Church, of which little is known, and which has been so much misrepresented.

The approximate figures of the adherents of the Armenian Church were formerly thirty millions, and are to-day four millions. Among the various causes given for this decadence is wholesale conversion to Islam in time of Turkish conquest and persecution. F. T. DUPRÉ.

The People of Armenia. By ARCHAG TCHOBANIAN. Translated by G. MARCAR GREGORY. Pp. 68. London: Dent and Sons. 1914. 1*s*. 6*d*. net.

This little handbook comes at an opportune time, when Armenia may have a new day of liberty and national development after Turkish misrule. The lecture contained in this volume was delivered in Paris, and gives a delightful sketch of that people, concerning whom Viscount Bryce says, "No nation has a longer record of valour and patriotism, hardly any nation a record of such sufferings and of such loyalty to the Christian faith." Z.

The Great Evil. By DIANA AGABEG APCAR. 114 pp. "Japan Gazette" Press, Yokohama. August 31st, 1914.

The writer claims Imperialism to be the cause of the present war as shown in the "struggle among the Powers of Europe for predominance in the Near East." An interesting book, though written entirely from the Armenian standpoint. F. T. D.

An Armenian Princess. By EDGAR JAMES BANKS. 16mo; pp. 252. $1.25. Boston: The Gorham Press.

The scene of this story, in which wealthy Armenians and official Turks play a part, is laid in Constantinople and a village in Asia Minor. Long familiarity with both the language and the country makes the author well qualified to picture for us the daily life of the people, and his sympathy for the persecuted Armenians is evidently due to what he has seen of Turkish misrule and intrigue. The horrors of Turkish prisons and of the Armenian massacres are vividly described, and we can only hope that such injustice is a thing of the past, and that this war will usher in a new day for all the peoples of the Turkish Empire. C. B. K.

Germany, France, Russia, and Islam. By HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE. Jarrold and Sons, London. 1915. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

This volume consists of a number of articles, speeches and lectures, ranging in time from 1870 to 1895. First come "Turkey and the Great Nations" and "Germany and the Oriental Question," both written shortly before the Berlin Congress. Five essays or speeches follow on problems arising out of the Franco-German War, the chief of which were written while German armies encircled Paris. Then we have "Luther and the German Nation" and "Gustavus Adolphus and Germany's Freedom," and the volume closes with a suggestive essay on "Our Empire."

The publishers have done well in giving English readers these striking utterances without note or comment, thus leaving the author to speak for himself. In the over-abundant English war literature of to-day no German writer is so frequently referred to as Treitschke, but most such references are one-sided and unfair. This is, perhaps, inevitable, for few writers can be judged by extracts torn from their context. However we may differ from him, Treitschke was beyond question a great political thinker, and but for the passions and prejudices that warped his judgment he would have been a great historian. No less competent a judge than Lord Acton spoke of him as "the one writer of history more brilliant and powerful than Droysen," who "marshals his forces on a broader front than any other man." He had an unequalled power of lucid and illuminating generalisation, and his fiery eloquence made even the commonplace to glow. There are many Englishmen living to-day who remember him in his best days at Berlin, when the impassioned fervour of his lectures carried them away and almost made them Germans. It was this fervour of patriotism that gave Treitschke the great influence which he had, and still has, in Germany, but it made him rather a politician than a great statesman or historian.

These essays are typical, and are well-worth reading by anyone who wishes to grasp the essentials of Treitschke's teaching. His conception of the State as *power*, his doctrine that the world is, and ever must be, ruled by *force*, that abstract *right* is a dream, and weakness the greatest sin, his unbounded worship of Prussian autocracy, his thinly-veiled contempt for all other nations, and his open scorn of Britain and British diplomacy—all are here, and lead him by devious ways to conclusions that often strangely repel us. Yet with it all there are continual flashes of deep insight and acute analysis. By far the best essays, in our opinion, are the two first, in which are many passages that the rulers of Germany to-day might well take to heart. Treitschke had no delusions as to the inherent rottenness of the Turkish Empire, and saw its doom writ large. "The Osmanli," he wrote in 1876, "are decaying, body and soul. . . . What really lives and works in Turkey is Christian." And, "Turkey has trampled on all the solemn promises which granted her the entrance into our State-confederation. Christian Europe must not have the right wrested from her at least to gag this barbaric Power if, as yet, it cannot be destroyed." England's attitude towards Turkey after the Crimea and in the seventies was abhorrent to him, and in this judgment most will now admit that he was right. But when he speaks of "correct insight and diplomatic tact" as being the "ancient privileges of masterful aristocracies," one cannot but wonder what he would have said had he lived to-day!

GEORGE PATTERSON.

The Dîwâns of 'Abîd ibn al-Abraṣ of Ásad, and of 'Amir ibn aṭ-Ṭufail of 'Ámir ibn Sa'ṣa'ah. Edited for the first time from the MS. in the British Museum, and supplied with a Translation and Notes, by Sir CHARLES LYALL. London: Luzac and Co. 12*s*.

This beautifully printed and handsomely bound book is the twenty-first Volume of the now well-known E. J. W. Gibb Memorial series. Sir Charles Lyall's fame as a student of ancient Arabic poetry is so well established that, when we learned that he was to edit these Dîwâns, it was at once understood that the edition would be a masterpiece of Arabic scholarship. No one can read this volume without feeling that it is as nearly perfect as it could be. The importance of the work will be recognised at once when we add that, as we learn from the Preface, the MS. from which the Dîwâns are published "is, so far as is known, *unique*, and no other copy of the collections contained in it has come to light." It was transcribed early in the fifth century of the Hijrah. Some of the poems are quoted in other collections, however, and the text of 'Ámir is substantiated by a fourth century (Hijrah) commentary. What makes the poems so valuable is their antiquity. 'Abîd was a younger contemporary of the famous ante-Islâmic poet Imrâ-u'l Qais (who perhaps died about A.D. 530 or 540). The Editor's learned introduction is full of interest. He discusses the genuineness of each poem and shews that very few are doubtful, and that in only two instances does the occurrence of Qur'ânic phrases prove that the verses containing them are spurious. 'Abîd's description of a storm (XXVIII., vv. 6-15) is very much admired by the Arabs. His verses breathe the air of the desert and forcibly depict the wild warrior-life of the poet. 'Ámir is said to have been born in or about the year 570 of our era. He was a contemporary of Mohammed. In the Introduction to his Dîwân, Sir Charles Lyall gives a full account of the conflicting stories related in reference to his conduct to Mohammed, whom he evidently opposed very fiercely, though doubt is cast on the tale of his having on one occasion entered into a conspiracy to murder the latter. 'Ámir's poems are full of the fierce joy of battle. The following (XIV.) is a fair specimen:—

"Truly War knows that I am her child,
and that I am the chief who wears her token in fight;
And that I dwell on a mountain top
of glory in the highest honour;
And that I render restive and distrest
mail-clad warriors in the black dust stirred by battle;
And that I dash upon them when they flinch before me,
with an attack fiercer than the spring of the lion,
With my sword I smite on the day of battle,
cleaving in twain the rings of the strongest mail.
This then is my equipment—would that the warrior
could see length of days without thought of decay!
And truly the folk of 'Ámir know
that we hold the peak of their mount of glory,
And that we are the swordsmen of the day of battle,
when the faint-hearts hold back and dare not advance."

The learned Editor endeavours in most cases to imitate in his translations of both 'Abîd and 'Ámir the metre of the original, upon which his authority is recognised. An Index of Words shews how many of the vocables used by these two ancient poets are very rare

indeed: in fact, some of them were obsolete when the earliest commentaries were written. Indices of Geographical names, of names of Persons, and of the Metres are added, and there are four pages of facsimiles of the MS.

All Arabic scholars will highly value this volume. As a picture of the lives and characters of the Arabs whose swords spread Islam far and wide, in the generations following, nothing can well be more forcible than these poems and the well-known *Mu'allaqât*, which belong to the same age. W. St. Clair Tisdall.

Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam. Translated by Edward Fitzgerald. Illustrations by Edmund Dulac. 12mo; pp. 189. London: Hodder and Stoughton. Price, —.

We welcome this exquisite edition of the famous quatrains of Omar Khayyam, the Persian, which includes the rendering for the first edition and the revised rendering or translation of the second edition as well (the latter first published by Macmillan). The volume is adorned by twelve artistic illustrations in colours, and is printed on art paper. Thanks to Fitzgerald's paraphrase, Omar Khayyam is better known in the West as a poet than as an astronomer, although in the East the reverse is the case. An authority on Persian literature, Professor Cowell, has testified that Fitzgerald's translation is "infinitely finer than the original," in proof of which, and as an illustration of the first and second edition of Fitzgerald's work, we would append three quatrains, the first a literal version, and the other two the work of our author:—

"In the view of reality, not of illusion,
We mortals are chess-men, and fate is the player;
We each act our game on the board of life,
And then, one by one, are swept into the box."

"'Tis all a Chequer-board of Nights and Days
Where destiny with Men for Pieces plays;
Hither and thither moves, and mates, and slays,
And one by one back in the Closet lays."

"Impotent Pieces of the Game He plays
Upon this Chequer-board of Nights and Days;
Hither and thither moves, and check-, and slays,
And one by one back in the Closet lays."

Z.

The Arabian Nights Entertainments. Translated by Edward William Lane. Edited by Stanley Lane-Poole. 4 vols. London: G. Bell and Sons. 1914. 4*s*. each.

Lane's translation of the Thousand and One Nights was written and published in 1840, and was frequently reprinted. The present edition is based on that of 1859, and contains the two additional stories of Aladdin and Ali Baba. Burton's unabridged and unexpurgated translation is, of course, the standard for the student, but this work, even with the omission of many of the notes and with slight abbreviations, still offers a sort of encyclopedia of Arabic customs and beliefs. The life described is that of Islam in its golden prime. Lane's translation has been criticised on the ground that its English is too old-fashioned, and that it lacks fire and force; but no one has ever challenged its accuracy and scholarship. The last volume gives Lane's essay on the history and composition of the 1,001 Nights. Altogether a wonderfully cheap and handy edition of a great classic.

Z.

The Vital Forces of Christianity and Islam. A collection of papers by various authors. Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, Edinburgh. 1915. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

This volume is a reprint of the most valuable and able series of papers that have appeared under the same title in the *International Review of Missions*. Certain leading questions relative to the points of contact and variance between the two religions were addressed by the Edinburgh Continuation Committee to representative students of the problem from all parts of the Moslem world, and their answers are here embodied. A glance at the names of the contributors is alone enough to place the book on the highest level. They include missionaries who have laboured and are still at work in Egypt, Syria, Persia, the Dutch East Indies, and East Africa; an Indian convert from Islam, and a distinguished orientalist at home. The general impression left from the symposium is that anything like a movement from Islam towards Christianity is still among the dreams of the future. The practical effect of Christian ethics in private and corporate life does indeed tend to throw into gloomy relief the condition of Islam in the eyes of the more thinking classes, but Christian doctrine as such is as repugnant as ever. What does this suggest with regard to the manner of presentation of our message? We will make two short quotations only. Professor Sirajud Din quotes a remarkable saying from a Moslem source that "The error of Christianity does not lie in making Christ God, but it lies in making God Christ." Professor Macdonald asks, "How can Christ be best preached to Moslems?" Almost one is impelled to answer, "Do not preach Him; let Him Himself do His own work." R. F. McN.

Muhammad and the Bible. By WILLIAM GOLDSACK. Pp. 47. Madras: Christian Literature Society for India. 1915. 3 annas.

In the words of the author, the purpose of this little volume is "to examine the principal passages of the Bible quoted by Muslims in which they claim to find predictions, more or less explicit, of the coming of Muhammad, and to show that in no passage whatever is there the slightest hint of any true Prophet who should come after Jesus the Messiah." The passages commonly used in support of their claim are the following: Deuteronomy xviii. 15-21; xxxiii. 2; Psalm xlv.; The Song of Solomon v. 10-15; Isaiah xxi. 7; xlii. 1; xlii. 11; Habakkuk iii. 3; Mark i. 7; John i. 19-21; The Paraclete in John xiv. 16, and John xiv. 30. Each text is dealt with separately, and the author shows how only a Muslim theologian, completely ignorant of the Hebrew language, by wresting phrases from their context, could make the passages in question serve his purpose. C. B. K.

Il Corano: Testo Arabo e Versione Letterale Italiana. By AQUILIO FRACASSI. Pp. 359. Milano: Ulrico Hoepli. 1914. L. 9.50.

This is one of the most convenient diglot editions of the Koran that we have ever seen. It was prepared by the professor of Arabic in the Royal Technical School of Milano. The Arabic text is very clear, although the print is small, and the literal translation in Italian appears on the opposite page. The chapters follow the usual order. The preface gives an account of earlier translations into Italian, and is followed by a brief summary of Mohammed's genealogy, the names of the Koran, and an explanation of the titles of every Surah. The book has two good indices. Z.

Le Turkestan Russe. Par A. Woeikof, Professeur honoraire de géographie à l'Université de Saint-Pétersbourg. 12mo ; pp. 362. Librairie Armand Colin, Paris. 1914. 8 francs.

The author spent four and a half months, May to September, 1912, in Russian Turkestan, and has here given us one of the best books of travel on this part of the Moslem world. One is surprised to learn how much territory he was able to cover, travelling along the railways and making frequent excursions in automobiles along the newly-built roads. The book is largely concerned with the physical geography and climate, and the process of dessication which he believes, however, is now arrested by new schemes of irrigation. There are chapters on Ferghana, Samarkand, Bokhara, and the oasis of Khiva ; two interesting chapters on agriculture and the cotton crop. In regard to religion the author says : " Islam dominates all this country ; regulates life and influences fundamentally all thought. Hostile to all criticism, it has killed the spirit of investigation and produced profound intellectual stagnation " (p. 123). In the cities 96 per cent. to 99 per cent. of the population is Moslem, with the following exceptions : Tashkent has only 86 per cent., Samarkand 74 per cent., and Ashkabad 25 per cent. The book has sixteen photographic illustrations and a good index. Z.

Albania, the Foundling State of Europe. By Wadham Peacock. Chapman and Hall, London. 1910. 7*s.* 6*d.*

This collection of essays, some of which have appeared in English periodicals, such as the *Fortnightly Review*, bears no reference to the missionary problem. We recommend its perusal, however, because it throws considerable light upon the appeal for a well-equipped Protestant mission to Albania, especially on educational and medical lines, which has been presented with such force recently by the Rev. C. T. Erickson and others, more particularly in the United States. Both the natural features and the life of the country are vividly described with some good illustrations. As H.B.M. Consul General in North Albania, the author came into close contact with the townspeople of Scodra, and makes every effort to share his interest in Shkypeter (true Albanian), Slav, Greek, and Moslem Turk alike. He gives a sympathetic account of " The Story of Albania " (chap. xiv.) from earliest times, and his explanation of " the Cutting out of the new Kingdom " is very interesting for those who only followed it confusedly in the daily press. Running through the book, we find an outspoken admiration for the Shkypeter and a profound belief in the possibilities of the people when this, " the oldest race in Europe, deep-rooted in the soil of the Balkan Peninsula, ages before the first Slav crossed the Danube " (p. 208), attains national independence. He is strongly impressed with the individuality of the Albanians among the nations and their capacity to become one of the leading peoples of South-Eastern Europe, if allowed to do so by their more powerful neighbours. " The Montenegrins held their own for five hundred years in a little block of mountains ; the Shkypeters have held their own for considerably over a thousand against successive waves of Slavs, Bulgars, and Turks (p. 202). " And it is a proof of the vitality of the language that it has survived through the ages without a literature, untaught and unwritten in the schools." At present its commerce is next to non-existant and its industries are of the poorest, " but when the lesson of civilisation is learned, the minerals as yet untouched will bring fabulous prosperity to the now barren mountains."

The book was written while the Prince of Wied was still in the country, and the author hoped conditions were about to change speedily for the better. Within the last few months, however, it has become evident that the transition from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century will not be accomplished so quickly after all, although we may be glad that Europe has at last recognised its foundling state. Incidentally, the departure of the Prince makes the essays the more informing. E. I. M. B.

The City of Dancing Dervishes: And Other Sketches and Studies from the Near East. By HARRY CHARLES LUKACH. 12mo; pp. 257. London: Macmillan and Company. 7*s.* 6*d.*

The author is already known to our readers from his earlier book, "The Fringe of the East," which was favourably reviewed in our quarterly, April, 1914. He has travelled throughout the world of Islam from West Africa to Persia, and writes with intimate knowledge and sympathy. This volume consists of sketches which have appeared in leading British magazines and newspapers. Six of the ten chapters deal with Islam. The last four chapters tell how St. Andrew worked a miracle in Cyprus by restoring a lost son to his mother, and give us a glimpse of priests and patriarchs and the false Messiah, who appeared at Smyrna in the year 1666. In his first chapter the author gives a good account of Konia, with its tomb of Jelal-ud-Din and the present centre of the dancing dervishes. We are introduced to the thirty-ninth Chelebi of the Mevlevi Order, the present head of the sect. Khoja Nasr ed-Din, of Aqshehir, has a chapter to himself, and the reader has a selection of his pleasantries as well as a full bibliography of the translations of this Turkish jestor in many languages. In speaking of the present-day aspects of Islam in Turkey, the author gives a good account of the zikrs, but we cannot agree with his statement (page 96) that "It is Islam which, notwithstanding its faults, its rigidity, its stationary tendencies, has made the Turks a great people; it is Islam which has inspired a small and obscure Siberian tribe with the ardour and organisation that enabled it to establish one of the widest Empires of modern history." The book also contains a sketch of the Turkish Caliphate and its origin. In this chapter we notice a curious mistake (or is it a misprint?) of *deism* for animism, when the author says: "As regards tropical Africa, where annually large numbers of men turn from Deism and paganism to the acceptance of Islam, two tendencies are at work" (page 123). S. M. Z.

Taqwim-u-Sharq (The Almanac of the East). By HENRY MEDAWAR, M.D. Illustrated. Pp. 436. 1*s.* 3*d.* Cairo: Paul Barbey.

A glance at the contents of this book shows that it has been rightly sub-titled an encyclopedia. It contains a full diary for 1915, notes regarding the administration of Egypt, its arts, agriculture, merchandise and policy; its latest statistics; information as to remedies for common diseases, housekeeping, and articles on important subjects. One of these, *Al Zar*, is very informing. Arabic readers will welcome this work, as the author has spared no pains to give us a full and accurate almanac. K. R.

Cairo. By PERCY WHITE. 16mo; pp. 336. London: Constable and Company. 1914. 6 sh.

A rather good, though sensational, story of modern Cairo, in which the reader finds somewhat of the colour and strangeness of this Paris of the East, where moral as well as political perspectives seem

awry, and where the religion of the desert casts its spell of mirage over the West also. One of the characters, a Nationalist, expresses a great truth when he says: "If the British Government fails anywhere it fails on the spiritual side. You have given us police, dams, irrigation, drainage, and what you call justice, but even the Egyptian fellah cannot live on bread alone." Z.

Through Unknown Nigeria. By JOHN R. RAPHAEL. 12mo; pp. 361. London: T. Werner Laurie. 1914.

Travel sketches and observations by one of the editors of the *African World*. The author admits that the chapters are impressions rather than the result of careful study. He pays high tribute to the British officials who have made Northern Nigeria, but shows no sympathy whatever with missionaries or their work. A good picture is drawn of Kano, the centre and focus of the Moslem population. The author is of opinion that Koranic law, civil and criminal, purged as it has been of corruption and inhumanity," is better than any form of English law for Nigeria. In another chapter he admits that "Mohammedanism as a faith sits as lightly on large sections of the Hausas as the tenets of the Church of England do on many recruits in the United Kingdom." Yet he seems to see no incongruity in the fact that a Christian government fosters this religion rather than Christianity, and appoints Moslem army chaplains who, "if they do not conduct prayers properly, must answer for it in the orderly room." According to his statement also polygamy is according to rank in the Nigerian native army, and is a reward for exemplary service (page 281). The book has excellent illustrations, but no map. Z.

Spanish Islam: A History of the Moslems in Spain. By REINHART DOZY. Translated with a biographical introduction and additional notes by F. G. STOKES. Chatto and Windus, London. 1913. Pp. xxxvi. and 769.

For students of Islam translations from French into English are somewhat superfluous. Professor Dozy's masterpiece, however, "L'Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne," which was originally published in 1861, has never been reprinted, and has consequently become rare and costly and little known except to historical specialists. This particular translation is, therefore, welcome, and the more so because the translator has not only added an interesting biographical sketch of the author and a new index, but also supplementary notes from the later work, "Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen Age," and footnotes from other sources. Lists of authorities are appended to each chapter, while the full titles of the printed works cited in an abbreviated form, together with precise references to the manuscripts consulted by the author form a valuable appendix. A map of the Iberian Peninsula from 711-1144 A.D. is included in the volume. E. I. M. B.

Sea-Wolves of the Mediterranean. By Commander E. HAMILTON CURREY. John Murray, London. 1910. Cheap edition. Thos. Nelson, London. 1914. 1*s*.

The issue of a cheap edition gives opportunity to call attention to this remarkably interesting story of the Moslem pirates of the Mediterranean during the sixteenth century. Despite its title, which rather suggests the schoolboy reader, it is a serious study based on original sources of that extraordinary transformation which came over the Moors when they were driven over to Africa from Southern Spain

by the fall of Granada in 1492. Historians unite as to the effeteness of the Moors after their seven centuries in Spain. Prescott says luxury and learning had dried up at their source those primitive virtues of courage and hardihood which had been the leading characteristics of the stark fighters who had borne the banner of the Prophet from Mecca to Cadiz. Once driven out of Spain, however, they became again the terror of Europe. "Religious toleration had been the rule of the Moslem states in Spain. In the name of religion they had been expropriated; therefore toleration was slain, and to exalt the Crescent above the Cross became the duty of every fighting Mohammedan. Their one preoccupation was to revenge themselves upon the Christians, of no matter what nationality." (P. 31).

Yet their chiefs were statesmen as well as pirates. As Admiral Jurien de la Gravière has remarked, "In the sixteenth century even the pirates were great men," and even when measured by the standard of Henry VIII., Charles V., or Soliman the Magnificent. Uruj and Kheyred-Din Barbarossa, Dragut Reis and Occhiali or Ali Basha were men who did much to change the conditions of the times in which they lived. Doubtless they were cruel, but it was an age of cruelty and violence; and despite all that remains indescribable, the corsairs were captains of ability not frequently excelled, who arose to take fortune at the flood and proved themselves indeed leaders of men.

E. I. M. B.

Students and the World-Wide Expansion of Christianity. Edited by FENNELL P. TURNER. Pp. 743. New York: Student Volunteer Movement. 1914. $1.85.

This volume contains the addresses delivered at the Seventh International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement of North America last year. Taken as a whole, the book is an encyclopedia of missions brought down to date, the amount of information packed into its pages justifying the use of that term; and in the sections devoted to special consideration of the mission fields, the needs and opportunities in the Moslem world, are set forth by missionaries whose long and varied experience allows them to speak with authority on the subject.

Missionary College Hymns: Being Hymns Oriental, Missionary, and Devotional, sung in the Women's Missionary College, Edinburgh. Compiled and arranged by ANNIE H. SMALL. London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier. 1914. Price, 4*s.* 6*d.*

We refer to this admirable collection because it contains the muezzin's Call to Prayer set to Oriental music, the Arabian Mission Hymn, and a selection from Omar Khayyam and of Arabic marriage music.

Z.

Yusuf Khan: The Rebel Commandant. By S. C. HILL. 12mo; pp. 320. London: Longmans and Company. 1914. 10*s.* 6*d.*

On the evening of October 15th, 1764, Mohammed Yusuf, Governor of Madura and Tinnevelly, was hanged as a rebel in front of the British camp by order of Mohammed Ali, the Nawab of Arcot. Sir John Malcolm characterised this rebel commandant as the "bravest and ablest of all the native soldiers that ever served the English in India," and his name, we are told, occurs almost as often in the history of this period in India as that of Lawrence or Clive. The author has been in the Indian educational service, and was formerly in charge of the

records of the government in India. He gives us a carefully prepared monograph and an able contribution from original sources, namely, the Madras Records and MSS. Yusuf Khan was an extraordinary man, born a Hindu, converted to Islam, married to a Portuguese woman; beginning life as a humble peasant, he rose to the highest military rank in the East India Company's service. He reduced to order two turbulent provinces in Southern India, and finally, compelled to rebel against the Nawab in self-defence, after two years of resistance, he fell into the hands of the English. This book gives the story of his ability, his bravery, and his gallant death. "Of Yusuf Khan there now remains only a little white mosque, a street in Madura known to the people by his name, though officially it bears another designation, and a fast fading memory of one who, though he died a rebel, had been a gallant and skilful soldier and an able and upright governor." He was a typical Moslem ruler in his methods of swift justice and cruel punishments. The book contains seven maps and plans, a complete bibliography and a full index. Z.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Rahimtulla Mohamed Sayani. Badruddin Tyabji. The Rt. Hon. Syed Amir Ali. 16mo. Four annas each. Madras: G. A. Natesan and Company. 1914.

These volumes have appeared in a series of uniform booklets, entitled "Biographies of Eminent Indians," and we are glad to commend them to our readers. They are brief and sympathetic, showing what is best in these leaders of Moslem thought and activity.

Syed Ahmed Khan was the founder of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, and a leader in the New Islam movement. He died in 1898.

Tyabji was the son of a wealthy Arab merchant at Bombay, and made his reputation at the Bar. He was president of the Indian National Congress in 1887, and in 1895 became a judge of the High Court.

Sayani belonged to the Khoja community, and was the first Mohammedan sheriff of Bombay (1885). He was a philanthropist and established many charitable institutions. In 1896 he also was president of the National Congress.

Syed Amir Ali is well-known through his writings on Islam, especially his recent work, "A Short History of the Saracens."

SURVEY OF RECENT PERIODICALS

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I. GENERAL.

A Missionary Survey of the Year 1914. J. H. Oldham. *International Review of Missions.* JANUARY, 1915. Includes numerous references to the Moslem world during the past year, and notably to progress among women.

The Moslem World. Rev. Jas. H. Linton. *Church Missionary Review.* FEBRUARY, 1915. A well-written survey of the world problem of Islam.

The War and Christian Missions. Bishop Montgomery. *The East and the West,* London. JANUARY, 1915. A general review, but laying emphasis on " the most notable result " of the war as being the refusal of Moslems throughout the world to range themselves upon the side of the Sultan of Turkey. " We have been drawn very near to Moslem nations in many parts of the world. It will be incumbent upon us not to lose the position so gained."

England and Islam. Sir Thos. Barclay. *Asiatic Review,* London. AUGUST, 1914. A discussion of policy and especially the importance to British interests of preserving Afghanistan, Beluchistan and Persia, from Russian aggression.

Mohammedans and the Empire. Sir Bampfylde Fuller, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. *United Empire,* London. FEBRUARY, 1915. A survey of the Moslem population of the British Empire, especially that of Egypt and India. From the Imperialist standpoint without reference to Missions.

Arabic Christian Literature (I., II., III.). Margaret D. Gibson, D.D. *The Expository Times.* DECEMBER, 1914, JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1915. A summary of Arabic Christian literature through the centuries, apologetics, philosophy, medicine, poetry, etc.

II. SOURCES OF ISLAM IN ARABIA.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM UP TILL RECENT TIMES.

Indian Domes of Persian Origin. K. A. C. Creswell, M.R.A.S. *Asiatic Review,* London. NOVEMBER 16th, 1914. An architectural study of the pierced dome and the double dome found in Indian tombs and mosques.

Persian and Arabic Words in the Satsai of Bihari Lal. R. P. Dewhurst. *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal.* JANUARY, 1915. A list of the words of Persian and Arabic origin in the Satsai, a work " completed on March 31st, 1662, and in style and subject matter as far removed from Muhammadan influence as it was possible for them to be. The extent to which foreign words are used in such a poem at such a date is a striking indication of the penetrative power of the language of the Islamic conquerors."

Littérature Sino-Musulmane : Analyse d'un recueil composé par l'Archimandrite Palladius. R. Majerczak. *Revue du Monde Musulman.* SEPTEMBER, 1914. Analysis of an important collection of thirty-two extracts and analyses of Chinese Moslem publications from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth century, compiled by Archimandrite Palladius while attached to the Russian Mission at Pekin (1848-1858 and 1864-1878), and edited by Nicolas Adoratskii (second edition, 1913).

Une nouvelle Statistique de la Population musulmane en Russie et de la Presse musulmane russe. R. Majerczak. *Revue du Monde Musulman.* SEPTEMBER, 1914. Based upon an article in *Mir Islama*, 1913. No. XI. Gives the statistics for thirty-five Governments with over 10,000 Moslem inhabitants, and details of eighteen Russian Moslem periodicals.

IV. KORAN, TRADITIONS, THEOLOGY, etc.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE OF ISLAM.

La Médersa de Saint-Louis. Paul Marty. *Revue du Monde Musulman.* SEPTEMBER, 1914. A detailed account based on the official report for 1913 of La Médersa, the Moslem higher school at Saint-Louis in Sénégal. Founded in 1908, it had 111 students in 1912-13, and has become, under the able directorship of M. Salenc, "a small native university" with four year courses in Arabic language and literature, Senegal law and French subjects. Various nationalities and social orders are represented among the students, including 42 sons of chiefs, 18 sons of marabouts, but also artisans and even two sons of shepherds. An interesting account of the Marabout school system in Sénégal is given in the appendices.

Sufiism. Prof. A. S. Shaikh, M.A. *The Indian Interpreter*, Poona. JANUARY, 1915. A bird's eye view of the principal theories of the origin of Sufiism and an outline of the Sufi "sair."

Esquisses Marocaines. (III.) Mysticisme et Fanaticisme. Claude Boringe. *Revue des Deux Mondes.* FEBRUARY 15th, 1915. A study, somewhat idealised, of the Sufist of Morocco. For previous studies in the same series, cf. September 1st, 1912, September 1st, 1913.

Across Asia Minor on Foot (I.). W. J. C. *Blackwood's Magazine.* FEBRUARY, 1915. A delightful account of a journey on foot from Samsoun on the Black Sea to the Mediterranean *via* Marsovan, Amazia, Yeni Bazaar, etc.

Types of Men in Jungle Life in India : the village Muhammadan. Rev. F. C. Sackett. *The Foreign Field*, London. FEBRUARY, 1915. A slight sketch of a village khaji.

Les Fleurs de l'Azerbaïdjan. Daghestani. *Revue du Monde Musulman.* SEPTEMBER, 1914. An account of several Persian poetesses with extracts from their collections : Agha Begum Agha, Achik Peri, Mirza Djan, Quevher Agha, Fati-Khanoum and Khourchid Banou Begum.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

Bahaism in its relation to the State. Rev. S. G. Wilson, D.D. *Church Missionary Review*, London. JANUARY, 1915. A review of the political relations of Babism, ending with the execution of the Bab in 1850, and a description of Bahaism as it emerged in 1867 and in its relation to the Government of Persia. Bahaism has remained outside the recent constitutional movement, having a system of civil government of its own in view. "In brief, Bahaism would set up in each town, in every country, ruling councils, and a central one universal in its sway, composed entirely of Bahais, clothed with supreme authority, because God-given, over kings, parliaments and peoples; councils infallible and absolute, superior to appeal and protest; deciding and exacting obedience in every department of the life of humanity—religious, domestic, social, educational, financial, judicial and political."

India's Devotion to Britain: why India is heart and soul with Great Britain. Bhupendranath Basu. *Indian Review*, Madras. DECEMBER, 1914.

India's Rally round the Flag. A. Yusuf Ali. *Journal of the East India Association.* JANUARY, 1915.

England, Turkey and the Indian Mahomedans. Synd Hossain. *Asiatic Review*, London. FEBRUARY 15th, 1915. An estimate of the loyalty to England among Indian Mohamedans in view of the present war with Turkey, including an account of the incident of September 26th, 1914, which has led to the stopping of "the Comrade" at Delhi.

Turkey in Europe and Asia. *The Political Quarterly*, London. DECEMBER, 1914. Discussion of the financial position of Turkey; "the Arab Movement," in the event of the fall of Constantinople, and the prospects for Asia Minor should the present war be fought to a finish. "Asia Minor will stand by the Turkish cause, even if Europe and Constantinople, and even if the Holy Places and all the Arab-speaking provinces be lost. In fact, Asia Minor *is* Turkey."

Turkey at the Parting of the Ways. F. R. Scatcherd. *Asiatic Review*, London. NOVEMBER 16th, 1914. A study of present conditions with interesting reference to the valuable services of certain Armenian and other Christian deputies in the present Parliament.

Turkey in the Grip of Germany. Sir Valentine Chirol. *Quarterly Review.* JANUARY, 1915. A study of the policy of William II. since his accession with regard to Turkey and her affairs. "No State has ever organised and controlled the power of modern finance for the prosecution of a national policy so effectively and so thoroughly as Germany, and nowhere so successfully as in Turkey."

The Sultan and his Ministers. *Indian Review*, Madras. DECEMBER, 1914. An interesting sketch of Sultan Mahomed V. and leading members of his council of ministers.

Heilige Oorlog made in Germany. Prof. Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje. *De Gids.* JANUARY, 1915.

A Revolt of Islam? G. F. Abbott. *Quarterly Review.* DECEMBER, 1914. A discussion of the White Paper containing the "Correspondence respecting events leading to the rupture of relations with Turkey, 1914." From personal experience during the Tripolitan war, the author is convinced that "nothing less was anticipated at the time of the declaration of war by Turkey than Pan-Islamic upheaval," and he sums up the negative reasons why Moslems in general have not responded to the Caliph's call. The religious unity of Islam is accompanied by neither political coherence nor community of culture.

The Problem of the Near East. J. A. R. Marriott. *Nineteenth Century*, London. FEBRUARY, 1915. An effort to analyse the origins and indicate the prolegomena of the problem—*i.e.*, the position of the Turks in Europe; the problem of the Black Sea; the position of the "Balkan States," of Russia in Europe, of the Habsburg Empire in S.E. Europe, and the attitude of the Powers in general to any or all of these questions.

Bosnia and its Capital (1) (2). Prof. S. H. Lovewell. *Lutheran Church Work*, Philadelphia. FEB. 11th, 18th, 1915. Short historical sketch of Bosnia and the various conquests of the country.

The Truth about Albania. C. T. Erickson. *Asiatic Review*, London. AUGUST, 1914. A strong plea for government in the meantime by a Commission from some neutral country, Great Britain or America, rather than by a ruler chosen as was the Prince of Wied.

The Turks in Egypt. Lieut.-General F. H. Tyrrell. *United Services Magazine.* FEBRUARY, 1915. An historical sketch of the rule and military position of the Turks in Egypt. "The Turks built nothing and created nothing and they have left nothing behind them except a legacy of hatred and contempt in the hearts of the people, and their military vocabulary, which is still in use in the Egyptian Army."

The Lion of the Levant. A. E. P. B. Weigall. *Blackwood's Magazine.* JANUARY, 1915. An account of the career and personality of Mahommed Ali.

The New Egypt. A. E. P. B. Weigall. *Blackwood's Magazine.* FEBRUARY, 1915. A popular account of England's work in Egypt since 1882, the proclamation of December 18th, 1914, and the present state of the country.

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VIII. THEOLOGICAL AND APOLOGETICAL.

The Salvation of Buddha and Mohammed. Archdeacon C. A. H. Green. *The East and the West.* JANUARY, 1915. An answer to the question, "Must Buddha—must Mohammed—believe in Christ?" by an appeal for greater earnestness of faith. "So subtly do personalities act and react upon each other, that our coldness and prayerlessness create an atmosphere which may be hindering our Lord's work in the unseen world."

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The Moslem World

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EDITORIAL

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THE Great Commission to carry the unsearchable riches of Christ to a world spiritually bankrupt comes to us with fourfold emphasis in the Gospels. Matthew tells us *why* we are to go: "All power is given unto Me, go ye therefore." Mark tells us *to whom* we are to go: "to the whole creation." Luke gives *the order* of going: "Beginning at Jerusalem . . . to the uttermost part of the earth." But John lays bare the very heart of the Master by showing us the spirit in which we are to go: "Jesus came and stood in the midst and saith unto them, 'Peace be unto you.' And when He had said this, He showed unto them His hands and His side . . . Jesus said unto them again, 'Peace be unto you: *as the Father hath sent me, even so send I you.*'"

Christ laid the foundations of the missionary enterprise in His own heart's blood. His life is to be our pattern, even as His death is our salvation and the heart of our message. How can we preach Christ crucified to Moslems unless we ourselves bear in our lives the marks of the Lord Jesus? How can we ask a convert to tear himself loose from the old social environment, to be a castaway from his family and friends, to face poverty and persecution, even death itself, if he has never seen in *our* lives the print of the nails? Success in soul-winning among Moslems can only come by sacrifice. While the nations of Europe are pouring out on the altar of patriotism, in unstinted measure, their whole wealth, their utmost strength, their best life-blood, shall the

children of a Kingdom that has no frontier, in a war that has no neutrality, be less devoted ?

We plough deep furrows and scatter the seed of the Word, hoping for the harvest. But God Himself is waiting for the sowing of the good seed—the children of the Kingdom themselves. " That a furrow be fecund," said Sabatier, " it must have blood and tears, such as Augustine called the blood of the soul." The Moslem world must have its Gethsemane and Calvary before it can have its Pentecost. The present condition of that world, therefore, is a supreme call to sacrifice : the sacrifice of our provincialisms or the narrow horizon of our sectarianisms for cosmopolitan statesmanship as missionary leaders. We must sink our differences and unite on the essentials. The sacrifice of wealth for investment in schools, the publication of literature, hospitals, and every form of evangelisation, on a scale adequate to meet the new opportunities. There is a call for the sacrifice of life—making it sacred—to force an entrance into the unoccupied mission fields where doors long closed are about to open. " As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you."

" Out of the realm of the glory light,
Into the far-away land of night ;
Out from the bliss of worshipful song,
Into the pain of hatred and wrong ;
Out from the holy rapture above,
Into the grief of rejected love ;
Out from the life at the Father's side,
Into the death of the crucified ;
Out from high honour and into shame
The Master willingly, gladly came :
And now, since He may not suffer anew,
As the Father sent Him, so sendeth He you ! "

Cairo. S. M. ZWEMER.

THE PRAYER LIFE

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[Following up the observance of the Day of Prayer, June 30th, this article calls to a *life* of prayer for the kingdom of God, and will suggest topics for intercession and thanksgiving in this number of our quarterly. The one great need of the Moslem world is intercessory prayer.—Ed.]

There are few indeed amongst Christian workers among Moslems who have not to acknowledge that prayer is a difficult thing. We all need to learn its nature, and of the wideness of its scope and the vastness of its power we are very ignorant. Yet it is one of the foundations of our religious life, and as such needs our deepest thought and care. Some have considered that prayer is something too hard for busy people, and only to be practised by men and women who, giving up outside activities, devote themselves entirely to a life of prayer. This is, of course, only a half truth, and a failure to realise the whole purpose of God's creation of man. All our other activities and interests are, in the mind of God, subordinate to, and contained in, that one great purpose—the worship of our Creator. We are meant to be citizens of that New Jerusalem, the streets of which paved with "beryl and carbuncle and the stones of Ophir," are themselves "to cry out Alleluia!"

If to be worshippers is our purpose in life and our vocation, it follows that we must *know* with a very real knowledge Him whom we worship. It is because we do not learn the real meaning of prayer that so often that personal knowledge of God is vague and indefinite that we need to become true worshippers. Perhaps we do not think enough in our prayer about the individual love of Christ for Moslems and for us. We know how amongst our own friends it is the individual touch which tells, the kind look, the sympathetic speech, the individual

interest shewn to us. It makes the whole difference in our intercourse with each other. And it makes the whole difference, too, in our intercourse with God to know that each one of us—and how many of them also—have the whole of His heart of love ; not a bit divided up with the rest of the universe, but the whole of His love and care. Just as each one of us has the whole joy of sunshine, all its warmth and brightness and sustaining power, as if there was not another person on earth except ourselves.

If we try to realise this individual interest of God in us, it at once takes away one of the difficulties of prayer.

Another of the difficulties of a life of prayer is the hard and fast lines we make, lines which are always man-made not God-made. We make a hard and fast division between our ordinary daily occupations and our times of prayer. Why should there be any division at all ? " Moses on the Holy Mount was not neglecting the Children of Israel when he was speaking face to face with God, nor when the time came for him to leave the Mount was he turning away from God," says a modern writer. He was equally doing the will of God when he was resting in His immediate presence, and also when he was leading that strenuous life of seemingly trivial activities amongst the turbulent people he had to lead. In later times a lesser saint than Moses, but a man of very holy life, found it possible to lead a life of constant prayer not in the quiet of his monastery chapel only, but amongst the pots and pans of a kitchen ; for Brother Lawrence, whose letters on the Presence of God have been a help to many, found his vocation as a worshipper of God in the seemingly uncongenial duties of cook to a busy monastery. It is this sense of the continual presence of God which Moses possessed, and many another of the saints, that we want to learn if we are to make our lives, lives of prayer, and so become true worshippers.

Another difficulty in beginning a life of prayer is that we are so quickly discouraged by its hardness. In the ordinary course of life when difficulties come, we do not immediately think they have to be avoided, rather we put our minds to the overcoming of them. So with prayer. Why should we expect a life of prayer, of the

continual realisation of the presence of God to be easy ? The Beatific Vision is not an *immediate* part of God's promise to those who take up their Cross and follow Him. Gethsemane, the Crown of Thorns, the Sorrowful Way, and Calvary, are for us each in our task as for our Master. And the difficulties have in themselves surely a strange joy. Are they not bringing us nearer to our crucified Lord ?

> " Must I be wounded in the tireless feet
> That hasted all the way
> My Lord to greet ?
> Shall errant love endure this hard delay
> Limping and slow
> On its ascents to go ?
> Yea, this must be
> If thou wouldst come with Me.
> Thus only can
> My seal be set on man."

An old French writer once said, " Pour savoir bien prier, il faut savoir bien aimer " ; and he went on to say, " Les Âmes qui sont puissantes par la Prière sont celles qui ont tout sacrifié. Tant vaut le Sacrifice, tant vaut la Prière."

And there is the prayer of the Indian mystic, that prayer which finds its deepest answer in the Christian soul, " Strike, strike at the root of penury in my heart. Give me the strength to make my love fruitful in service. Give me the strength to raise my mind high above daily trifles, and give me the strength to surrender my strength to Thy will with love." So love and sacrifice, which made up the Cross of Calvary, must set its seal upon our prayer.

This life of prayer for the Moslem world also has its helps. Foremost of all I would put before us the help given us in the realisation of Christ's continual presence with us, especially in the Sacrament He Himself ordained. He is so very near us in this His own service ; the Feet which have been scarred with nails (are our feet too weary to come to Him ?) ; the Hands that lifted the crippled and helpless and set them walking (are our hands too busy to find time to lift them in prayer to Him ?) ; His Arms outstretched that He might draw all things unto Himself (can we be content to remain away

from those all-embracing Arms ?). And those who cannot regularly attend that highest act of worship, can at least unite themselves with those who are present by making daily a short act of prayer and praise, remembering Christ is with us always, everywhere, in every place. "Any devout person may every day and every hour profitably and without let or hindrance draw near to Christ in spiritual communion," says St. Thomas à Kempis.

Another help towards a life of prayer is *habit.* We have the custom of saying our morning and evening prayers, and perhaps at midday also, and it is a great help to keep this rule with strictness. "If out of weariness or carelessness," says St. Thomas à Kempis again, "we lightly omit our prayers, it is blameworthy, and will be felt to be hurtful." We cannot know what immense importance our daily prayers may have on our lives, and the lives of others. Some few years ago there was in Belgium a great religious revival, which took the form of a call to prayer in days spent in Retreat. Thousands of men and women went to some religious house and spent not an hour or two, but two or three days in prayer. And it was not only those people we sometimes call leisured who found time for this special effort of prayer; the greater number of those in Retreat were working men and women. Does it not seem as if this time of prayer was given to the Belgian nation as a preparation for the time of crucifixion it is now so bravely enduring ? In those quiet days, gained I am sure with difficulty and determination by those Belgian men and women, something of the valour and heroism, the discipline and self-denial was learnt, which has now gained for their country an undying recognition amongst all civilised people, and which will rank in future history as one of the finest achievements of the human race.

At this time of anxiety and trouble, when there are few of us who have not those we know and care for in danger, perhaps to some of us has already come the shadow of earthly separation, and on all of us the love of our country hangs heavily, the call to a life of prayer comes with urgent meaning. We are always thinking

of those we love, and as we think we surely commend them in life or death to God's safe keeping, for absence is a bridge along which our love passes from God to them. And it may be that this time of hard discipline has been given us to teach us anew the way to Christ. It is a great test of our love and of our discipline. Discipline enables us to obey His call; love draws us readily to His feet. Again for us the Cross is lifted up, drawing all men to it. Again in the sufferings of His children Christ is crucified again. Have we no part or share in that great mystery of suffering wherein we as Christians can but hope and long that Christ is being born again in the hearts of nations who have forgotten Him?

History, religious and secular, has ever taught us that life is no easy task. We have to fight our way to the City of God. Ever we are being saved from destruction by the way by "hard refusals." It is not in the smoother, easier times and circumstances in lives of individuals and nations, but, on the contrary, in the harder trials of every conceivable kind, and in the unshrinking full acceptance of these as the part of the price of conscience and its growing light, that has ever occasioned the formation of heroic lovers of Christ Crucified. And though we must fail to explain, how and why, with an all-knowing and all-powerful and all-loving God, there can be evil at all, we can recognise the law which is ever being brought home to us, that there is a mysterious capacity for purification and development of man's spiritual character on occasions of, and by the help of, trouble, pain, and even death itself. The peace of God passeth man's understanding, and it may be that what seems to us to be only terrible discord, and the overthrow of principles we have held most dear, is the prelude to the glorious battle of the Lord, the full harmonies of Heaven. The Prince of Peace was also the Man of the Piercing Sword, the Lamb of God is the Lion of Judah. We cannot understand, but we *can* pray, and praying learn to worship Him.

Cairo. Sister MARGARET CLARE.

SAINTSHIP IN ISLAM

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In his book, "The Early Development of Mohammedanism," Professor Margoliouth has a most important chapter in which he shows that the Mohammedan conception of Saintship is derived from the Mohammedan creed, There is no God but God. The Moslem prefers not to speculate upon the meaning that is to be attached to the word "God," and feels that he is on safer ground when he studies the meaning of the word "association" in that development of the creed that tells him that nothing must be associated with God. It follows then that if God is to be loved, then nothing else may be loved. If the worshipper's object is Paradise, then he is desiring something besides God, and is a polytheist.

"Poverty," as in all hagiologies, is one of the greatest of saintly virtues, and we must not forget its attraction as bringing special sanctity where the saint is supposed to have abandoned great wealth and position.

Humility, or, rather, humiliation, is to be practised to unheard-of degrees; resignation in things great and small; even complete passivity and desirelessness. These form the negative aspect; they are the loosing from bonds which attach men to other things than God, to make them polytheists. But there is the positive side to be considered, summed up in the phrase, "love of God." This has, of course, been taken over from older religions and is found in the Koran, but has been highly developed by the Sufis, especially along the lines of an erotic sentiment.

"Love of God is not only incompatible with the bestowal of affection on other rational beings, but even with the most innocent enjoyments, such as enjoying the morning air or the songs of the birds."

THE SPIRITUAL HIERARCHY IN ISLAM AND ITS GRADED VIRTUES

AL-QUṬB *al-'awth*

All the Virtues mentioned below belong to him.

Al-Imâmân

2 Lieutenants :—
(*a*) the Imâm of the Right, Deputy and Successor of the Quṭb—concerned with the Heavenlies
(*b*) the Imâm of the Left—concerned with the Earthlies

outw. works	az-zuhd	asceticism
	al-wara'	extreme reverence
	al-'amr bil ma'rūf	enjoining of benevolence
	an-nahy 'an il-munkar	forbidding of evil
inw. works	as sidq	truthfulness
	al-'ikhlās	sincerity
	al-ḥiyā'	shamefacedness
	al-murāqaba	godly fear

4 *al-'Awtâd* (sing. watad = tent-peg)
[The stations, the 4 corners of the Universe]

outw.	kathrat aṣ-ṣiyām	much fasting
	qiyām al-lail	rising by night
	kathrat al-'awtār*	much prayers [dawns
	al-istighfār bil as-ḥār	asking forgiveness in the
inw.	at-tawakkul	God-reliance
	at-tafwīḍ	God-committal
	ath-thiqa	confidence
	at-taslīm	surrender

7 *al-'Abdâl* (sing. badal = substitute)

outw.	aṣ-ṣamt (= silence)	(outw.) remembering only God
		(inw.) unresponsiveness to details
	as-sahar (= watchfulness	(outw.)for physical sleep
		(inw.) for heart-sleep
	al-gū' (= hunger)	(outw.) physical hunger
		(inw.) soul-hunger
	al-'uzla (=reclusion)	(outw.) from human fellowship
		(inw.) from intimacy with men
inw.	at-tagrīd	self-emptying
	at-tafrīd	seclusion
	al-gam'	union
	at-tawḥīd	uniting

40 *an-Nugabā'* (sing. nagīb = noble)
[the burden-bearers]

outw.	al-futūwa	generosity
	at-tawāḍu'	humility
	al-'adab	refinement
	kathrat al-'ibāda	devoutness
inw.	aṣ ṣabr	patience
	ar-riḍā	glad contentment
	ash-shukr	thankfulness
	al-ḥiyā'	shamefacedness

300 *an-Nuqabā'* (sing. naqīb = piercing of sight)

outw.	kathrat al-'ibāda	devoutness
	at-taḥaqquq biz-zukāda	realized asceticism
	at-tagarrud 'an ét-irāda	will-lessness
	qūwat al-mugâhada	power in spiritual effort
inw.	at-tawba	repentance
	al-'ināba	turning from world to God
	al-muḥāsaba	self-examination
	at-tafakkur	meditation
	al-i'tisām	chastity
	ar-riyāḍa	religious exercises

*Sing. witr or watr, =a prayer with an odd number of rak'a's

Then there is also the metaphysical conclusion, which appears to be the extreme attainment of the "gnosis." "The true Unitarian is he who recognises in the world no existence save God's; who regards both himself and the world outside him as a mirror, yet rather one wherein the Deity shows Himself than one wherein He is reflected."

"The main proposition of the esoteric Sufiism is, then, this: that there is no distinction between subject and object, and that God, nature, and man, are identical. The consciousness of this is to be obtained through a variety of exercises, and it would seem that not everyone possesses the capacity to attain thereunto; but those who do attain thereto are apparently thought to possess divine powers."

It is not difficult for us to see what a fascination such claims, supported by a clever jugglery of words and special interpretation of the Koran and Traditions, must have for the populace, to whom the arid unitarianism of the scholastics is unintelligible, and whose natural religious instincts crave for an incarnation or incarnations, something to make the divinity intelligible.

We find then that the cult of saints and the practice of the exercises that lead up to saintship (the Zikr in its various forms), have undoubtedly first place in the religious life of the people. To form an opinion as to the place it holds, mix with the crowds making their way to the Maulid of Ahmed-el-Bedawi. You will find a warmth of affection towards him not accorded to the prophet himself. Vows are constantly paid to him of animals which are without blemish; these are sacrificed generally at one of his maulids, and the vower and his friends partake of the sacrifice. The whole life of the Fellaheen, in all its joys and sorrows, its difficulties and perplexities, is bound up with the cult of Saints—and Ahmed-el-Bedawi easily holds the first place. The saints, however, are innumerable, and are both living and dead, as witness the vast number of tombs (popularly called "Sheikhs") that dot the whole country side, and in the towns are to be found in every native street and many in the European quarters, too. As to living saints,

there are few villages without them, amongst very many a favourite way to canonisation being the declaration by some returning pilgrim that he had seen one of the notable village Sheikhs in Mecca when it was known that he was certainly in the village on that day; corroboration is seldom difficult to obtain.

It will be readily gathered that a vast field for blatant imposture lies open here, and the vileness of these men, who pose as living saints, has not unfrequently been the theme, not of missionaries who are generally considered prejudiced and iconoclastic, but of Orientalists and even of Moslem writers. Nevertheless, in the most degenerate days there are always some who have a better claim to being honoured as saints on account of their abstemious practices, their real life of meditation and their sincere desire to fulfil all righteousness as they understand it. It is a delight to meet such characters and quietly to converse with them if one can but avoid the stereotyped form of controversy as to the respective merits of Christianity and Islam, into which they will constantly try to enter. But these men are few and far between; you may come across them in a little shop in the native bazaars, or plaiting baskets from the sharp lance-like leaves of the palm tree in the open street of some village (a sincere repentance is named after this particular craft, taubat-el-khaus, which was also a mark of the ascetic life amongst the monks of the Nitrian desert). Then there is a very large class whose reputation for saintship depends upon their reputation for magical powers; this includes almost all Khalifas of the dervish orders. Lastly, all forms of madness and idiocy are attributed to God having so favoured the afflicted one that He has taken his mind away to heaven whilst his grosser parts remain here in the world of men, hence they are saints. Lane was not far wrong when he said, "Most of the reputed saints of Egypt are either lunatics, or idiots, or impostors."

It may well be asked, How is it the people are so easily taken in? Do they not look for ethical signs of saintship? The answer is, that it is impossible to judge of the conduct of a saint for several reasons. Obviously,

if his mind is in heaven his body is not to be held accountable for vagaries committed through lack of mental control. The same reason applies to the ecstatics; they are to be considered as intoxicated with love to God, and you do not expect from a man in a state of intoxication what you would when he was sober. Then there is the classical explanation of the Koran, which has been highly developed in countless stories of the saints. Moses meets el-Khidr (the ever-living saint of Islam), and asks to be allowed to accompany him; he is told that he will have no patience, but pleads that he will. El-Khidr staves in a ship, and Moses objects on behalf of the crew; el-Khidr remonstrates with his impatience; afterwards he slays a youth. Moses again objects and is again remonstrated with, but pleads a final chance; they come to a city and are refused hospitality. El-Khidr fixes up a tottering wall. Moses objects that he might have demanded pay for this and so obtained the necessary food for them both. El-Khidr says he must no longer bear him company, but explains how that the ship belonged to poor men, and that he damaged it to save it from being seized by a predatory king who was coming up behind them. The youth was the son of pious believers, and he had slain him to prevent them being grieved in later years by his ill-conduct; he had propped up the tottering wall on behalf of some orphans that it might keep safe for them some treasure that their father had hidden under its foundations against the day they should come of age.

Here is one of the popular developments of this story as told by Lane in his chapter on Superstitions; I merely summarise it from his "Modern Egyptians": A devout Cairo merchant was anxious for the post of Sahb-el-Darak (a kind of supernatural-sighted watchman over the interests of the Moslems); being appointed by the Qutb, he took up his duties in the Darb-el-Ahmar district. The first thing he did was to take up a stone and smash a large jar containing boiled beans to pieces, scattering the contents; the merchant owning them gave the welee a mighty hiding, but afterwards discovered in the bottom of the jar which remained a venomous

serpent. The next day he broke a large jar of milk and again received a tremendous thrashing, but the owner of the boiled beans intervened, telling the man he was thrashing a welee, and advised him to look into what remained of his jar, and he would find either something poisonous or unclean ; he looked and found the carcase of a dead dog. The following day he placed his stick between the legs of a slave carrying a large tray of eatables on his head for a picnic party in the country. The slave wreaked his vengeance on him with a will until one of the bystanders called his attention to the fact that a dog who had partaken of some of the fallen food had died at once ; then he was recognised as a welee, but did not appreciate his task, and asked to be relieved of his recently acquired honour.

If you visit the great gate near the Mosque of el-Moayyad, in Cairo, called the Bab-el-Zuweyla or Bab-el-Mutawelli, you will see that a large portion of the populace that pass the gate stop for a moment to touch it, then pass their hand over their face, thus transferring the blessing from the gate to themselves ; others stand holding to one of the studs, and offer longer or shorter prayers. If you look closely you will see countless teeth and bits of rags squeezed into the interstices of the ironwork. Why all this ? The name of the gate will tell you. Mutawelli means the weli who rules over all the welis ; he is sometimes called the Qutb, and is the most eminent saint of the time, and presides over the hierarchy of saints on which the order of the world is supposed to depend. These are all living saints, but for the most part hidden. Hujwiri says, " There are 4,000 saints who are concealed and do not know one another and are not aware of the excellency of their state, being in all cases hidden from themselves and from mankind." It is considered that all the decisions of rulers and law courts by day are settled the night previously by this august parliament of saints. I do not know whether the departed saints have their share in this governing, certainly they are in spirit round the Sârî (a tent-pole erected at these festivals) at all moulids. These saints are not hampered by time and space as ordinary mortals,

and can transport themselves from any part of the world to this gathering in the twinkling of an eye.

The miracles of saints are infinite in their variety, and some probably have a real foundation in fact, and can be explained on psychological grounds; others are the extravagant exaggerations and inventions of their followers.

There is a small pamphlet being sold in Cairo to-day, though written about the time when the Dervish orders were at their zenith, about 1226 A.D. It purports to explain the impostures of the Dervish sheikhs, while at the same time it states its belief in the miracles vouchsafed to the real saints. The author has evidently found out the secret of some of the supposed miracles, such as that of the Sheikh going into a burning fiery furnace and coming out unscathed. A would-be convert from Islam in Minya could not be induced to renounce his belief in magic because he had seen a Mughrabi Sheikh perform this supposed miracle. But a very large number of the explanations require as much credulity to swallow as the miracle itself. For example, he tells of a house he saw in India where if a man went in in the middle of the night, he would see the sun shining as in the middle of the day. To get this effect, he says, is quite easy; all one has to do is to take the yellow of an egg, mix it with human blood, leave the mixture suspended in a bottle until worms appear; give them another separated yoke of an egg, allow the worms to eat one another until there is only one left; put this aside until it dies, then crush it while soft, spread on glass; place this in the corner of the house and cover it over with a cloth, then fumigate with a special weight of a named incense, and the deed is done; it will shine with a greater light than the light of the sun. I give this illustration not only because it is amusing and a good specimen of much like it in the book, but because it reveals the credulity of the Eastern mind.

For further particulars on the idea of saintship, one must read Professor Nicholson's "The Mystics of Islam." I cannot refrain from quoting his closing weighty words in Chapter V., "I am well aware that in this chapter scanty justice has been done to a great subject. The

historian of Sufiism must acknowledge, however deeply he may deplore, the fundamental position occupied by the doctrine of saintship and the tremendous influence which it has exerted in its practical results—grovelling submission to the authority of an ecstatic class of men, dependence on their favour, pilgrimage to their shrines, adoration of their relics, devotion of every mental and spiritual faculty to their service. It may be dangerous to worship God by one's own inner light, but it is far more deadly to seek Him by the inner light of another. Vicarious holiness has no compensations."

It behoves us, as missionaries, to combat this idea of saintship which holds the people in such grips. We must find out if we ourselves are quite clear as to what constitutes saintship. Not only so, but we must remember that we, too, are called to be saints. This the missionary is sometimes apt to forget in the great pressure of work that shorthandedness and a vast field involve. We are to demonstrate practically that what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God, by sending His own Son, can do in us, so that our righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees. Our one standard of righteousness can only be the righteousness of God. When we say He is righteous, we mean that all His acts are in conformity with His nature. Our standard of holiness will, therefore, increase with the increase of our knowledge of God's nature at which we can arrive, not by an uncertain inner light but by God's great revelation of Himself in our Lord Jesus Christ. We must ever be on the watch against the foolishness of the Galatians, whilst at the same time we must remember that holiness by faith comes not to him who does not hunger and thirst after righteousness. Again I would urge that it is in this subject of saintship we have the crux of the problem of Islam's hold upon the masses, and mere theorists as to right views of saintship will not successfully combat their errors. We are called to be saints.

Zeitoun,
Egypt.

GEORGE SWAN.

THE SUICIDE OF TURKEY

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THE history of the great war of 1914 will contain no more amazing chapter than that which records the entrance of the Ottoman Empire into the lists; nor does the history of the civilised world afford any parallel to the manner in which that ill-fated Empire has been decoyed to its end by its false friend Germany. The time has not yet come to write a detailed history of this extraordinary event, but already there is sufficient evidence available from which the most dispassionate inquirer can form an opinion. Since it has nothing to hide, and its actions in regard to Turkey can stand penetrating inquiry, the British Government has published the diplomatic correspondence relating to Turkey's acts of hostility. This candour—a persistent characteristic of British policy in regard to all the international crises of the past six months—is nowhere appreciated more than in India, where the study of foreign politics is daily becoming more widespread and more thorough.

* * *

What will be the result of this war with Turkey?

The answer to that question has been given without hesitation by Mr. Asquith. It will be the total disappearance of the Turkish Empire, its obliteration from Europe and from Asia.

"It is not the Turkish people," said Mr. Asquith at the Guildhall banquet in November, "it is the Ottoman Government which has drawn the sword, and which, I do not hesitate to predict, will perish by the sword. It is they and not we who have rung the death knell of the Ottoman dominion, not only in Europe, but in Asia. With their disappearance, as a conquering and devastat-

ing cause, will disappear, as I at least hope and believe, the blight which for generations past has withered some of the fairest regions of the earth. We have no quarrel with the Mussulman subjects of the Sultan. Our Sovereign claims amongst the most loyal of his subjects millions of men who hold the Mussulman faith. Nothing is further from our thoughts or intentions than to initiate or encourage a crusade against their creed. Their holy places we are prepared, if any such need should arise, to defend against all invaders and keep them inviolate. The Turkish Empire has committed suicide, and dug with its own hands its grave."

When that speech was first telegraphed to India, it was received by some Mohammedans with no little concern, but reflection has shown them that Mr. Asquith foretold only the inevitable. Turkey has proved increasingly incapable of governing itself. The tyranny of Abdul Hamid's régime was swept away amidst the applause of the whole world, and at that time of roseate hopes and invigorating aspirations, Indian Mohammedans shared the general confidence that a brighter day was dawning for their co-religionists in the Ottoman Empire. Never were hopes more cruelly disappointed. The young Turk, to quote Mr. Asquith once again, "reproduced the vices without either the vigour or the versatility of the old régime." He led his country along the road to certain ruin. Cliques and parties quarrelled among themselves, tried statesman were thrown on one side, or—as in the case of Turkey's finest soldier, Nazim Pasha—were ruthlessly murdered to make way for young upstarts without experience and without knowledge, men in whose ears German promises sounded like the assurance of a worldly paradise to be attained with scarce an effort. Under such men Turkey fell an easy victim to one enemy after another. Italy took from it the rich but undeveloped province of Tripoli, and in the Balkan war the prestige of the once dreaded Turkish army melted away like snow upon the desert's dusty face, and a large part of Turkey in Europe, together with many of the islands, disappeared for ever from the Ottoman Empire. In such circumstances neither England

nor any other power could have intervened with any chance of success to save the doomed Empire, for Turkey was its own enemy. The young Turks initiated, as they are now completing, the process of disruption in their country. Enver Pasha and the other amateur statesmen who, by intrigue and violence, have acquired the control of Turkey's destiny, sharply divided in opinion, vacillating in council from day to day, have allowed their true interests to be undermined and overborne by German threats, by German ships, by German gold. They were tempted to one futile outrage after another—first the lawless bombardment of Russian open ports, then the equally lawless intrusion into Egyptian territory—until the Allies—Russia, France, and England—who had withstood with unexampled patience this protracted series of flouts, veiled menace, and impudent equivocations, were compelled to yield to the logic of facts and to recognise Turkey as an open enemy. How could it have been otherwise ?

None can be so blind to facts as to maintain that the patient and long-suffering people of Turkey had anything to gain by keeping a Government which had so persistently led them along the road to ruin. It is against that Government and not against the Ottoman peoples that the Allies are making war. The most fertile part of Armenia has already passed to Russian hands, and the British have established a strong foothold in Mesopotamia. In both countries will the conquerors be welcomed as deliverers, for both have endured for generations the misrule and endless exactions of Turkish officials. We read of wholesale desertions from the Turkish army corps in Syria, and of the collapse, after a small skirmish, of the much talked of invasion of Egypt. And from no part of the world does any member of the vast Islamic brotherhood stretch forth a hand of sympathy to the doomed nation. Islam realises only too well that Turkey has slain itself, and Islam looks forward to the not far distant time when the Mohammedans, who still groan beneath the tyrannical influence of Stamboul, will be free men, beneath a just and progressive Government, even as the Mohammedans of India and

of Egypt. We, therefore, clearly recognise that it is to the interests of Islam as a whole, and of one section of it in particular, that Turkish misrule should for ever be ended.

How the Ottoman Empire will be divided up is a problem as yet insoluble. But it is not one that need greatly concern us, except as a matter of mental speculation, for we have the assurance of the British Government that our Holy Places will be free from molestation during the war, and we rest content in the belief that those places will eventually pass to British control, to the great advantage of all future pilgrims and to the infinite satisfaction of all those who have experienced on the Haj the discomfort and oppression of even a brief existence under Turkish rule. It would still further add to our content if we could be given some assurance that the Allies will protect the person and dignity of the Sultan, even if at present it is impossible for them so far to foretell the future as to make any definite statement about the Caliphate. Some uncertainty is inevitable, but it can be faced with confidence that the Allies will continue to defend the right.

CASSAMALLY JAIRAZBHOY,

Bombay. *Vice-President of the Moslem League.*

TRANSLATIONS OF THE KORAN

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Dr. D. S. Margoliouth recently called attention to a noteworthy fact, namely, that Islam in theory offers no facilities to those outside of its pale for the study of its character before they enter. "A man must enrol himself as a member first," he writes, "and then only may he learn what his obligations are. The Koran may not be sold to Unbelievers; soldiers are advised not to take it with them into hostile territory for fear the Unbeliever should get hold of it; and many a copy bears upon it a warning to Unbelievers not to touch. Pious grammarians have refused to teach grammar to Jews or Christians, because the rules were apt to be illustrated by quotations from the sacred volume."

In how high a degree the Arabic language is to Moslems a wholly *sacred* language, not to be lightly regarded nor taught to unbelievers, one may learn from the commentaries on Surah Yusef, the first verse. "Those are the signs of the perspicuous Book. Verily we have revealed it, an Arabic Koran. Haply ye may understand." Et-Tabari, commenting on this verse, says: "God Most High caused this noted Book to come down an Arabic Koran to the Arabs, for their tongue and speech is Arabic. We, therefore, revealed this Book in their language that they might be wise and fully understand." The Arabic Koran is to-day the one sacred text-book in all Moslem schools in Turkey, Afghanistan, Java, Sumatra, Russia and China, as well as in those lands where Arabic is the mother tongue.

Yet to three-fourths of the Moslem world Arabic is a dead language; for Islam spread even more rapidly than did the language of the Koran, and in consequence

the Moslem world of to-day is polyglot. The chief literary languages of the Moslem world next to Arabic are Persian, Turkish, Urdu and Bengali. In all of these, and in other languages, there is a large Moslem religious literature—dogmatic, mystic and controversial. Yet the question whether the Koran itself might be translated into other languages has always been contested by the orthodox party. It is true that Mohammedans have themselves prepared a number of translations, or running comments on the sacred text, as interlinear notes, but such copies of the Koran are expensive and rare. An interesting correspondence was carried on in the columns of the *Orient and Occident** a few years ago between Sheikh Mohammed Hasanein El Ghamrawy, a student at Oxford, and the editors, in regard to this question. The former laid down the chief reasons why the Koran was not translated into foreign languages by Moslems in the earlier days, and, secondly, what had been the motives that led to its translation into Persian, Urdu and Turkish in recent times. He speaks of the translations of the Koran as having been adopted rather as a preventive measure than to propagate the faith. It was intended, he says, "to keep the religion of Islam from losing its hold on countries where Arabic is little known." Islam has never had its Pentecostal gift of tongues. Before our Lord Jesus Christ gave the Great Commission, the Old Testament had already been translated into Greek, and to-day the list of the Bible Societies includes versions in four hundred and fifty-six tongues: the complete Bible in a hundred and twelve languages, the New Testament in a hundred and eleven more, and at least one book of Scripture in two hundred and thirty-three other languages.† This list includes every language, and even every important dialect spoken in the Moslem world. The Bible, in contrast to the Koran, has this unique quality, that it can be rendered into all

* *Orient and Occident*, Cairo, February, 1907.

† "Translations of the Bible," by Bernhard Pick, Ph.D., New York. American Bible Society. 1913. This volume contains a carefully compiled bibliography of 653 versions of the Bible, or parts of the Bible, which have been made since the invention of printing.

the languages of mankind without losing its majesty, beauty, and spiritual power. The secret lies in the subject matter of the Scriptures.

"The Bible belongs to those elemental things—like the sky and the wind and the sea, like bread and wine, like the kisses of little children and tears shed beside the grave—which can never grow stale or obsolete or out of date, because they are the common heritage of mankind. This Book goes down to the root of our bitterest needs, our darkest sorrows."*

The difficulty with the Koran is that it is in a sense untranslatable. To imitate its rhyme and rhythm is impossible. Its beauty is altogether in its style, and, therefore, necessarily artificial. For the sake of the rhyme unnecessary repetitions are frequently made, which interrupt the sense of the passage and sometimes even appear ridiculous in a translation. "The language of the Koran," says Stanley Lane-Poole, "has the ring of poetry, though no part of it complies with the demands of Arab metre. The sentences are short and full of half-restrained energy, yet with a musical cadence. The thought is often only half expressed; one feels the speaker has essayed a thing beyond words, and has suddenly discovered the impotence of language and broken off with the sentence unfinished. There is the fascination of true poetry about these earliest surahs; as we read them we understand the enthusiasm of the Prophet's followers, though we cannot fully realise the beauty and the power, inasmuch as we cannot hear them hurled forth with Mohammed's fiery eloquence. From first to last the Koran is essentially a book to be heard, not read." And elsewhere the same author says: "These early speeches of the Koran are short and impassioned. They are pitched too high to be long sustained. We feel that we have to do with a poet, as well as a preacher, and that his poetry costs him too much to be spun out. The words are those of a man whose whole heart is in his subject, and they carry with them even now the impression of the burning vehemence with which they were hurled forth."†

* "Report of British and Foreign Bible Society," 1913-14.

† Cf., Islam, 1903. P. 16.

It is this artificial character of the book which has baffled the skill of translators, and no translation will ever satisfy those who can read the original; for did not Mohammed himself say, "I love the Arabs for three reasons: because I am an Arabian, because the Koran is Arabic, and because the language of the people of Paradise is Arabic, too." A story was recently current among Moslems at Peshawar that George Sale, on his death-bed, declared himself a Mohammedan, and asked forgiveness for having put forward such an incorrect translation of the Koran as he had made, and desired that all copies should be burned! (Perhaps our Indian friends were offended by his statement in the Preface to the Reader: "The Protestants alone are able to attack the Koran with success, and for them I trust Providence has reserved the glory of its overthrow.")

In attempting to give as complete a list as possible of the translations of the Koran, we will deal first with those in the languages of Europe—in nearly every case the work of non-Moslems—and then with Oriental versions by Moslems and missionaries.

I.—Translations into the Languages of Europe.

The first translation of the Koran was due to the missionary spirit of Petrus Venerabilis, Abbot of Clugny (died 1157 A.D.). He proposed the translation of the Koran into Latin, and the task was accomplished by an Englishman, Robert of Retina, and a German, Hermann of Dalmatia. Although the work was completed in 1143, it remained hidden for nearly four hundred years, till it was published at Basle in 1543 by Theodore Bibliander. This version was afterwards rendered into Italian, German, and Dutch. A second Latin translation of the Koran was made by Father Louis Maracci in 1698 and published at Padua, together with the original text, explanatory notes, and refutations. Concerning this translation Sale says: "It is, generally speaking, very exact, but adheres to the Arabic idiom too literally to be easily understood." The notes, he adds, are valuable, but the refutations "unsatisfactory and sometimes

impertinent." Later editions of Bibliander's text appeared in 1550, and 1721 (Leipzig). An Arabic-Latin Koran was also published at Leipzig in 1768 by Justus Fredericus Froriep, and another at Amsterdam in 1646.

Andrew Du Ryer, who had been French Consul in Egypt and had a considerable knowledge of both the Turkish and Arabic languages, first translated the Koran into French. This was printed at Paris in 1647. The version is, however, inaccurate, and contains frequent transpositions, omissions and even additions (Sale). Later and better French translations have followed: by Savary in 1783, and Kasimirski (Paris, 1st edition 1840, 2nd edition 1841, 3rd edition 1857). Both of these versions have been frequently reprinted in popular form. Another French version is that by G. Pauthier (Paris, 1852).

As far as I have been able to learn, there is no translation of the Koran into Danish or Norwegian. A Swedish translation, however, was made by C. J. Tornberg in 1874, but is said to be very inaccurate. J. T. Nordling wrote a prize essay for Upsala University on the Swedish translation in 1876.

A translation of one Surah, *El Mi'raj*, was made into Spanish in the thirteenth century at the request of Alphonso X., by his physician, Don Ibrahim, and a French rendering of this translation was made by Bonaventura de Seve. I have not heard of a complete translation into Spanish, nor so far been able to trace a translation of the Koran into Greek, although the Greeks have been in closest touch with their Moslem neighbours for many centuries.

Early Hebrew translations are not unknown. We learn from the Jewish Encyclopedia that fragments of these translations are found in a Bodleian MS. (No. 1221); in a bookseller's list a volume in Hebrew is mentioned containing the Torah, the Targum and the Koran. A translation from Latin into Hebrew was made in the seventeenth century by Jacob b. Israel ha Levi, Rabbi of Zante (died 1634). In modern times a translation was made into Hebrew by Hermann Reckendorf and printed at Leipzig, in 1857.

The first German translation was made from the Latin. Other translations were made by Schweigger from the Italian version, at Nürnberg in 1616, and by Frederick Megerlin (Frankfurt, 1772). Sale's English version was translated into German by Theo. Arnold, and published at Lemgo (Germany) in 1746. The best known translations in German, however, are those by Boysen (1773), revised and corrected by G. Wahl in 1828, and the most recent one by Ullmann (1853), which has passed through many editions. But, according to Nöldeke, none of the German translations are equal to those which we have in English.

The first Dutch translation, "De Arabische Alcoran," was from Schweigger's version, and was printed at Hamburg in 1641. A later one was made by J. H. Glasemaker from Du Ryer's version (and is still more inaccurate), and was published at Leyden in 1658, and six later editions. The copy I possess is dated 1734, "Zijnde de zevende en laatste druk." Another translation is that by Dr. Keyzer, Professor of Mohammedan Law at Delft, published at Haarlem in 1860.

A Russian version appeared at St. Petersburg (Petrograd) in 1776.

An Italian version, "Alcorano di Macometto," was made by Andr. Arrivabene at Venice in 1547, but is very incorrect, as it is from the Latin version of Robert Retenensis (Bibliander). The most recent version in Italian is a diglot Koran by Aquilio Fracassi, Professor in the Royal Technical School of Milano (1914). The preface gives an account of earlier translations, and is followed by a brief summary of the chapters and an explanation of their titles.

As early as the fifteenth century Johannes Andreas, a native of Xativa in the kingdom of Valencia, who from a Mohammedan doctor became a Christian priest, translated not only the Koran, but also its glosses and the six books of the Sunna, from Arabic into the Arragonian tongue, at the command of Martin Garcia, Bishop of Barcelona and Inquisitor of Arragon.* It is interesting

* Sale's "Koran," p. vii.

to note this as perhaps the earliest version by a convert; we doubt Sale's statement regarding the Sunna!

Finally we may mention a polyglot edition of the Koran (Tetrapla), prepared by the savant Andrea Acolutho of Bernstadt, printed at Berlin in 1701, in folio. This gives the Koran in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Latin. The book is very rare.

Before we speak of the various English versions, which most concern the readers of our quarterly, mention must yet be made of a version undertaken in Esperanto by Khalid Sheldrake, of which specimens have appeared in the *Islamic Review*.* He states that Islam and Esperanto have a common ideal in view; that each strives for the breaking down of the "unnatural barriers of colour, creed and caste." We give below the translation of the 112th Surah and of the 1st in Esperanto:

"Diru: ke Allaho estas la Sola Dio
La eterna Dio.
Li ne havas idojn, nek estas ido
Kaj nenio en la mondo similas al Li."

"Pro la nomo de Dio la indulgema and malsevera,
Laudo estu al Dio, la majstro de la mondoj
Plena de kompato, Rego en la tago de la jugo
Al vi servu ni, kaj al vi ni pregu
Konduku nin en la gusta vojo,
En la vojo de tiuj, al kiuj vi afablas
Ne de tiuj kiu koleras kontrau via volo
Ne de tiuj kiuj eraras."

The first English Koran was Alexander Ross' translation of Du Ryer's French version (1648-1688). He was utterly unacquainted with Arabic, and not a thorough French scholar; therefore his translation is faulty in the extreme.

Sale's well-known work first appeared in 1734, has passed through many editions, and is the most widely known of all English versions. He himself wrote: "Though I have freely censured the former translations of the Koran, I would not, therefore, be suspected of a design to make my own pass as free from faults; I am very sensible it is not; and I make no doubt that the few who are able to discern them, and know the difficulty of the undertaking, will give me fair quarter." Whatever

* London, July, 1914.

faults may have been found in Sale's translation, his Preliminary Discourse will always stand as one of the most valuable contributions to the study of Islam. It has been translated into Arabic in recent years under the title "Makalat fi'l Islam," and is eagerly read by Moslems themselves. Sale's translation is extremely paraphrastic, but the fact that the additional matter in italics is, in nearly every case, added from the Commentary of El-Beidhawi, makes it the more valuable to the reader. This is the only complete English translation with explanatory footnotes, without which the Koran is scarcely intelligible.

In 1861 a new translation was made by the Rev. J. M. Rodwell. In this the Surahs or chapters are arranged chronologically. Dr. Margoliouth characterises this rendering as one of the best yet produced. "Not the least among its recommendations is, perhaps, that it is scholarly without being pedantic—that is to say, that it aims at correctness without sacrificing the right effect of the whole to over-insistence on small details." But this version also has many inaccuracies, especially in the use of tenses and particles.

Edward Henry Palmer's translation appeared in 1880 in the series, "Sacred Books of the East." He considers Sale's translation scholarly, his notes invaluable, but says that the style of the language employed "differs widely from the nervous energy and rugged simplicity of the original." Although Rodwell's version approaches nearer to the Arabic, Palmer states that in this also "there is too much assumption of the literary style." In his own translation he has attempted to render into English the rude, fierce eloquence of the Bedouin Arabs, and has succeeded, I believe, almost to the same degree as Doughty in his "Arabia Deserta." Where rugged or commonplace expressions occur in the Arabic, they are rendered into similar English; sometimes the literal rendering may even shock the reader as it did those who first heard the message. For example, in the chapter of Abraham, verse 19, Sale and Rodwell have softened down the inelegant text, but Palmer gives it fearlessly:

" Behind such a one is hell, and he shall be given to drink liquid pus ! He shall try to swallow it, but cannot gulp it down."

In addition to these the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* mentions an Arabic Koran lithographed at Serampore in 1833, with an English translation on the margin.

We also have two English translations by Moslems, not to speak of a new translation which is promised by the editor of the *Islamic Review*. In 1905 the Holy Koran, translated by Dr. Mohammed Abdul Hakim Khan, with short notes, appeared from the press. This was printed in England. In 1911 Ashgar and Company at Allahabad published the Arabic text with English translation, arranged chronologically, by Mirza Abu'l Fazl. In the admirable abstract of the contents of the Koran, the author introduces his readers to the principles of textual criticism. The chronological order adopted differs from that of Muir, Rodwell and Jalal-ud-Din, although most nearly approaching the last-named. The English translation is vigorous, independent, and although sometimes crude and too literal, will perhaps on this very account prove useful to students of the Arabic text. The following are examples of such literalisms which offend good taste, but which give the Arabic original : " For you is a lesson in the cattle ; we give you to drink of what is in their bellies " ; " We will brand him on the snout " ; or, where the angels came to Abraham : " And there came before them his wife with exclamations, and she beat her face and said : ' Old and barren me ! ' " But this is not a blemish in the translation unless it be a blemish in the original, and the translation of some of the earlier Surahs, such as The Night, The Sun, and The Pen, are wonderfully well done. There are instances, however, where the author has shown his bias by a translation which is inaccurate, and, therefore, misleading. In the translation of two parallel verses, one referring to the death of John the Baptist and the other to that of Jesus Christ (Surah xix. 15 and 34), the same Arabic verb and tense is in the one case translated by the past and in the other by the future, to uphold the Moslem theory that Jesus Christ did not die

on the cross, but will die after His second return :— "And peace upon him the day he was born, and the day he *died*, and the day when he shall be raised up alive." "And peace upon me the day I was born, and the day *I shall die*, and the day I *shall be raised* up alive."

To sum up the facts in regard to the English translations, the reader has the choice of no less than eight versions of the Mohammedan Bible, four of them by Moslems.

The latest and most elaborate attempt at an English translation is that by the "Anjuman-i-Taraqqi Islam" at Qadian, of which specimen pages have just appeared from the Addison Press, Madras. The Arabic text in beautiful script appears at the top of the quarto page, followed by careful transliteration and a translation. The work apparently is being done by the collaboration of educated Moslems of the Qadiana sect in the Punjab. The commentary in English takes up more than three-fourths of the page, and is thoroughly modern in its attitude ; but it is marred by its hopelessly sectarian character. The preface to the work throws much light on the whole question of Koran translation, as viewed by Moslems of the liberal school :

"It goes without saying that an English translation of the Holy Quran with copious explanatory notes and exhaustive comments is one of the crying needs of the time. This is an age of religious research. Everybody is desirous of having the first-rate information about the great religions of the world. And the need for such information is greater in the case of Islam than in the case of any other religion. No other religion has been so cruelly misrepresented as that of the Holy Quran. . . . Besides answering the objections of the hostile critics we intend to present to the readers of all creeds and nationalities a true picture of Islam, which alone of all religions can solve the greatest problems of the age by its universality, grandeur, simplicity and practicality.

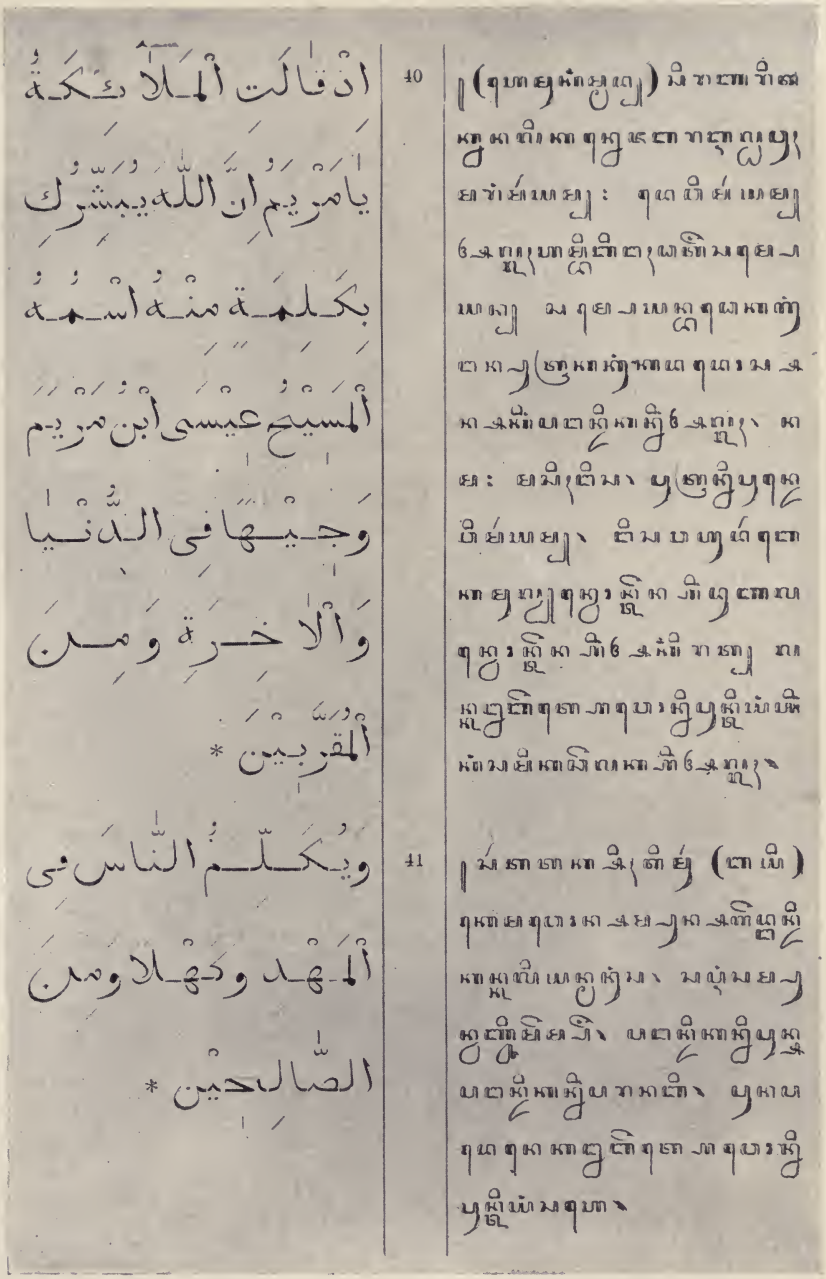
"It is with these objects in view that we have undertaken this translation of the Holy Quran. And nothing could serve this purpose better than such a reliable translation with necessary comments adapted to convey the true sense of the Holy Book and to remove the misunderstandings under which many of the people are labouring, thanks to the misrepresentations of the Christian writers on Islam. Indeed, there are already a number of English translations, but they are mostly by Christian writers, who besides being insufficiently acquainted with Arabic, could not totally free themselves from religious bias, and many of their notes and preliminary discourses are calculated to mislead the reader rather than enlighten him."

For the comparison of four of these English translations of the Koran we give below in parallel columns translations of the Chapter of the Forenoon (XCIII.), according to the versions of Sale, Palmer, Rodwell, and that of the Indian Moslem, Abu'l-Fazl.

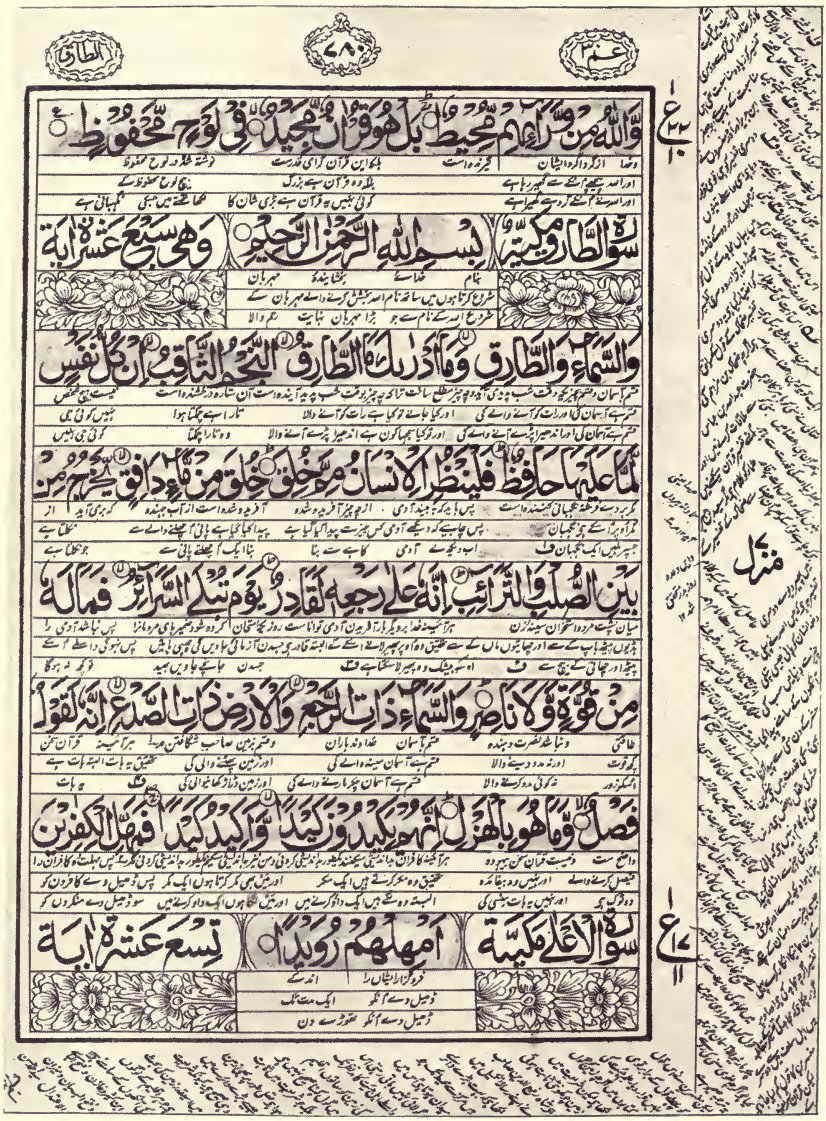
SALE.	PALMER.	RODWELL.	ABU'L FAZL.
By the brightness of the morning, and by the night when it groweth dark: thy Lord hath not forsaken thee, neither doth he hate thee. Verily the life to come shall be better for thee than this present life: and thy Lord shall give thee a reward wherewith thou shalt be well pleased. Did he not find thee an orphan, and hath he not taken care of thee? And did he not find thee wandering in error, and hath he not guided thee into the truth? And did he not find thee needy, and hath he not enriched thee? Wherefore oppress not the orphan; neither repulse the beggar: but declare the goodness of thy Lord.	By the forenoon! And the night when it darkens! Thy Lord has not forsaken thee, nor hated thee; and surely the hereafter is better for thee than the former; and in the end thy Lord will give thee, and thou shalt be well pleased! Did He not find thee an orphan, and give thee shelter? and find thee erring, and guide thee? and find thee poor with a family, and nourish thee? But as for the orphan oppress him not; and as for the beggar drive him not away; and as for the favour of thy Lord, discourse thereof.	By the noonday brightness! And by the night when it darkeneth! Thy Lord hath not forsaken thee, neither hath he been displeased. And surely the Future shall be better for thee than the Past, and in the end shall thy Lord be bounteous to thee and thou be satisfied. Did he not find thee an orphan and gave thee a home? And found thee erring and guided thee; And found thee needy and enriched thee. As to the orphan, therefore, wrong him not; And as to him that asketh of thee, chide him not away; And as for the favours of thy Lord, tell them abroad.	By the noonday brightness. And by the night, when it darkens. Thy Lord hath not forsaken thee, neither is he displeased. And surely the Hereafter shall be better for thee than the former; And in the end thy Lord will give to thee, and thou shalt be well-pleased. Did He not find thee an orphan, and give thee a home? And found the (*sic*) erring, and guided thee? And found thee needy, and enriched thee? Then, as for the orphan, oppress not him; And as for him who asks, chide him not away. And as for the favour of thy Lord, tell it abroad.

There is no doubt that the chief charm of the Koran, from a literary standpoint, is its musical jingle and cadence. This an English translation cannot reproduce. Yet attempts have been made by Richard Burton and

A specimen page of Chinese Koran Commentary.



A page from the Arabic-Javanese Koran published at Batavia.



A page from a Polygot Koran, Arabic—Persian—Urdu.

সূরা আল্-এনাম।

وَلَوْ أَنَّنَا نَزَّلْنَا إِلَيْهِمُ الْمَلَائِكَةَ وَكَلَّمَهُمُ الْمَوْتَى

১১১ আর আমরা যদি তাহাদিগের উপর ফেরেস্তাগণকে নাজেল করিতাম, এবং মৃতেরা তাহাদিগকে কথা

وَحَشَرْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ قُبُلًا مَّا كَانُوا

বলিত, এবং আমরা তাহাদিগের নিকট সমস্ত বস্তু দলে দলে একত্র করিতাম, তথাপি খোদা ইচ্ছা না

لِيُؤْمِنُوا إِلَّا أَن يَشَاءَ اللَّهُ وَلَٰكِنَّ أَكْثَرَهُمْ يَجْهَلُونَ ۝

করিলে, তাহারা যে ইমান আনে, এইরূপ হইত না[১]; কিন্তু তাহাদিগের অধিকাংশ লোক অজ্ঞাত আছে।

وَكَذَٰلِكَ جَعَلْنَا لِكُلِّ نَبِيٍّ عَدُوًّا شَيَاطِينَ الْإِنسِ وَالْجِنِّ

১১২ আর এইরূপে আমরা প্রত্যেক নবীর জন্য এক একটী শত্রু করিয়াছি—মনুষ্য ও জীনদের শয়তান সকল[২];

টীকা।

[১] কাফেরগণ মহম্মদ সাহেবকে বলিয়াছিল, তুমি যদি খোদার রসুল হও, তাহা হইলে আস্‌মান হইতে এক জন ফেরেস্তাকে আনয়ন কর; কিন্তু তিনি তাহা করিতে অপারগ হইয়া এই আয়েৎ প্রচার করিয়াছিলেন, যেন খোদা স্বয়ং বলিতেছেন 'আমরা তাহাদের বাক্যমত এক ফেরেস্তাকে প্রেরণ করিলেও তাহারা ইমান আনিবে না'। কোরাণের অনেক স্থানে কাফেরগণের এইরূপ বাক্যের উল্লেখ দেখিতে পাওয়া যায়, কিন্তু মহম্মদ সর্ব্বদাই একরূপ উত্তর দান করিয়া বলিতেন, 'মাজেজা (অর্থাৎ আশ্চর্য্য কার্য্য) খোদার হস্তে, আর আমি এক জন প্রচারক মাত্র।' পাঠক এই বিষয়ে এই সূরার ৩৫, ৩৭ এবং ১০৯ আয়েৎ ও সূরা আল্-ইস্‌রাণের (৩) ১৮৩ আয়েৎ পাঠ করিবেন।

খলাসাৎ-উল্-তফাসীরের ২ খণ্ডের ২ পৃষ্ঠায় লিখিত আছে যে, قبلا معين كئي قراءتون اور معانى مختلف هين অর্থাৎ, "কুবুলা (দলে দলে) শব্দের ভিন্ন ভিন্ন ভাব-প্রকাশক ভিন্ন ভিন্ন পাঠ দেখিতে পাওয়া যায়।" অর্থাৎ, কোরাণের এই বাক্য তহরীফ হইয়াছে।

[২] এই আয়েতে লিখিত আছে যে, খোদা প্রত্যেক নবীর জন্য এক শত্রু, অর্থাৎ শয়তান, নিযুক্ত করিয়াছেন, যেন সে ঐ নবীকে ত্রাস করিতে পারে। কোরাণের অন্য এক স্থানেও ঠিক এইরূপ শিক্ষা পাওয়া যায়, যথা :—

وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَا مِن قَبْلِكَ مِن رَّسُولٍ وَلَا نَبِيٍّ إِلَّا إِذَا تَمَنَّىٰ أَلْقَى الشَّيْطَانُ فِي أُمْنِيَّتِهِ ۝

অর্থাৎ, "আমরা তোমার পূর্ব্বে (হে মহম্মদ) এমন কোন রসুল ও নবী প্রেরণ করি নাই যে, সে যখন পাঠ করিত, তখন শয়তান তাহার পাঠের মধ্যে (কিছু) নিক্ষেপ করে নাই।" (সূরা আল্-হজ (২২) আয়েৎ ৫১।) কথিত আছে যে, এক সময়ে মহম্মদ সাহেব আরব কাফের-গণকে লাভ করিবার ইচ্ছায় তাহাদিগের দেবতাদিগের নাম উল্লেখ করিয়া বলিলেন, উহাদের শফাৎ বাঞ্ছনীয়; কিন্তু তিনি পরে সেই উক্তির জন্য দুঃখিত ও লজ্জিত হইয়া বলিলেন যে, শয়তান ঐ সমস্ত কথা আমাকে বলিতে শিখাইয়াছিল। ঘটনাটী মদারিহ-আল্-নুবুয়িয়া নামক মুসলমান কেতাবে এইরূপে বিবৃত হইয়াছে,

قراء رسول الله صلعم بمكة و النجم فلما بلغ افرايتم اللات و العزي و منات الثالثة الاخري القى الشيطان على لسانه تلك الغرانيق العلى و ان شفاعتهم لترتجى فقال المشركون ما ذكر الهتنا بخير قبل اليوم فسجد و سجدوا فغفرلت هذا الاية و ما ارسلنا من قبلك من رسول ولا نبي الا اذا تمنى القى الشيطان في امنيته ۝

অর্থাৎ, "রসুল-আল্লা (তাঁহার উপর খোদার শান্তি ও আশীর্ব্বাদ বর্ষুক) মক্কাতে সূরা আল্-নজম পাঠ করিতেছিলেন, আর যখন তিনি এই বাক্য প্রাপ্ত হইলেন, 'অনন্তর তোমরা কি আল্-লাৎ, আল্-উজ্জা ও অপর তৃতীয় মনাৎকে দেখিয়াছ?' তখন শয়তান তাঁহার ওষ্ঠাধরে এই বাক্যগুলি নিক্ষেপ করিয়াছিল, 'ইহারা শ্রেষ্ঠ ও মর্য্যাদা সম্পন্ন কুমারী ও তাঁহাদের শফায়ৎ আশা করা যায়।' তাহাতে কাফেরগণ বলিল, 'তিনি আমাদের দেবতা সম্বন্ধে উত্তম বলিয়াছেন।' অনন্তর তিনি সেজদা করিলেন ও তাহারা সেজদা করিল, এবং তৎপরে এই আয়েৎ নাজেল হইল, 'আমরা তোমার পূর্ব্বে (হে মহম্মদ) এমন কোন রসুল বা নবী প্রেরণ করি নাই যে, সে যখন পাঠ করিত, তখন শয়তান তাহার পাঠের মধ্যে (কিছু) নিক্ষেপ করে নাই।'" পাঠক সূরা আল্ হজের (২২) ৫১ আয়েৎ ও উহার টীকা পাঠ করিলে এই ঘটনার বিস্তারিত বিবরণ প্রাপ্ত হইবেন।

A page from Rev. W. Goldsack's Bengali Translation of the Koran, with Notes. (Published by the C.L.S.I.)

others to acquaint English readers with this element of poetry in Mohammed's revelation. The following version of the Surah, already given, appeared in an article in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1866, and although it may not equal the Arabic, it is, to say the least, more interesting than any of the ordinary prose versions:

"I swear by the splendour of light
And by the silence of night
That the Lord shall never forsake thee
Nor in His hatred take thee;
Truly for thee shall be winning
Better than all beginning.
Soon shall the Lord console thee, grief no longer control thee,
And fear no longer cajole thee.
Thou wert an orphan-boy, yet the Lord found room for thy head,
When thy feet went astray, were they not to the right path led?
Did He not find thee poor, yet riches around thee spread?
Then on the orphan-boy, let thy proud foot never tread,
And never turn away the beggar who asks for bread,
But of the Lord's bounty ever let praise be sung and said."

II.—Versions in Oriental Languages.*

One of the earliest versions of the Koran for the use of Moslems was the translation made into Urdu by the learned Sheikh, Abd-ul-Kadir Ibn-i-Shah Wali Ullah, of Delhi, in 1790. This has appeared in several editions, lithographed, with the Urdu text interlinear with the original.† An Arabic-Persian interlinear in two volumes was printed at Calcutta in 1831; Brunet also mentions a lithographed Persian interlinear translation (Ispahan, n.d.). The latest edition is a polyglot Koran in folio, lithographed in two colours at Delhi by the Farooki Press, 1315 A.H., and entitled *Koran Majid, Terjumat Thalatha*. The introduction is in Urdu, and the interlinear text gives first the Arabic, followed by a Persian translation, an Urdu free translation, and an Urdu literal translation. The Persian translation is by Shah Rafi'-ud-Din. A facsimile, reduced, of one of the pages of this beautiful volume, is given herewith. In addition to the text a running commentary is given on the margin, both in Urdu and in Persian. In Persian we have other

* *Cf.* Jean Gay: "Biliographie des Ouvrages rélatifs à l'Afrique et à l'Arabie," Paris, 1875. Brunet: "Manuel du Libraire" (art., *Mahomet*). J. Th. Zenker: "Bibliotheca Orientalis," Leipzig, 1861.

† An edition in two volumes was printed at Hugly in 1248 (1829).

editions of the Koran with explanatory notes on the text, or attempts at literal versions. A scholarly translation of the Koran into Urdu was also made by the late Rev. Dr. Imad-ud-Din, of Amritsar, India. This was the first translation to be published in Roman-Urdu characters, and through the Christian Mission Press at Allahabad it has been widely circulated throughout India.

Rev. Dr. Ahmad Shah, S.P.G. missionary at Hamirpur, U.P., has recently given us the Koran in Hindi translation from the original Arabic. The language is said to be idiomatic, and the paragraphs are arranged according to the thought of the text.

It is not generally known that the Malay version of Beidhawi's Commentary on the Koran contains an interlinear translation, sentence by sentence, with the Arabic text. Two or three editions of this commentary have been published, and it is sold throughout the Dutch East Indies.

According to Hughes, a translation has also been made into Pushtu, and another writer speaks of one in Gujerati. I have not been able to secure information, however, in regard to these versions.

From the *Terjuman* (quoted in the *Revue du Monde Musulman*, IV., 634), we learn that: "Les Musulmans d'Adjari, aux environs de Batoum, et des régions avoisinantes, ne parlent et ne comprennent que la langue grouse [*sic*]. Pour faciliter leur instruction religieuse, le Coran à été traduit récemment dans leur langue; l'auteur de cette traduction se nomme Mir Yanichouyli." One would like to know more accurately concerning this version for so small a population.

Some of these translations, however, especially the earlier ones, are not, correctly speaking, translations of the text; rather they consist of a commentary in the vernacular on the Arabic text, which sometimes is transliterated. A Chinese Commentary on the Koran is an example. In the *Revue du Monde Musulman* (Vol. IV., p. 540) a full account of such a commentary is given by M. F. Farjenel and M. L. Bouvat. The work is in octavo, but gives neither date nor author's name. It is entitled *King han Tchou-kiai heueting* (The Sacred

Book explained in Chinese, and clearly divided into Sections).

"The Chinese phonetic rendering, in this part of the book, is indicated after the Arabic text, and the Chinese explanation follows. It is noteworthy that the Arabic text itself is not translated, the Faithful doubtless being supposed to understand it. The notes in Chinese which accompany each Arabic phrase, form an annotated explanation of the prayer or of the text, written in colloquial language. All the rest, after the Fatiha, is composed entirely of verses of the Koran, likewise translated into the language of the common people."

To give the reader an idea of what such a translation means, we give below the comment on the words "King of the Day of Judgment," in the first Surah.

Maliki yaumi'd-din. (In Arabic character).

Ma li kee yao minn ting. (In Chinese character).

"This expression has twelve Arabic characters. With the thirty preceding characters, this makes forty-two. On the basis of these forty-two characters Allah has created forty-two kinds of diseases of the human heart. To every man who, during prayer, recites these words with true devotion, Allah will grant the cure of these forty-two moral illnesses."

The word "Amin" (Chinese: *A mi nai*) is thus explained:—

"This word has four sacred characters which designate four saints: *Alif* stands for Adam; *Mim* for Mohammed, the apostle of God; *Ya* for *Yahya* (John); and *Nun* for Noah. Those who recite these characters accurately will receive the honours and dignity pertaining to these four saints, on the Day of the Resurrection."

A translation of the Koran in Javanese appeared in 1913 from the Semarang-Drukkery en Boekhandel, Batavia. It is issued in parts of about a hundred pages. The print and text are exceptionally good (see facsimile); the footnotes in Javanese are textual and not explanatory. This translation was made by Mr. Ngarpah, who calls himself "Servant of the Sultan of Turkey." He was once a Roman Catholic convert, and then turned back to Islam. The Javanese students at

El Azhar were greatly interested in this translation when I showed it to them. An earlier translation in Javanese character is mentioned by Brill.

In 1908 the Rev. William Goldsack, a missionary of the Australian Baptist Society, undertook the translation of the Koran into Bengali. It was a bold but strategic venture on literary lines, and has already had great effect among intelligent Moslems. The Koran printed in this fashion (see facsimile) with Christian comment and the explanation of difficult passages, can well be made a schoolmaster to lead Moslems to Christ. One may hope that this method will find imitation in other mission fields and other languages. Efforts in this direction are sure to meet with opposition, as was the case with Turkish versions.

In the days of Abdul Hamid a translation of the Koran into Turkish would have been an impossibility, owing to Moslem prejudice, yet during his reign copies of the Arabic Koran with Turkish Commentary in the margin, were freely published. A beautiful edition of such a Koran was printed at the Bokharia Press, Constantinople, A.H. 1320. After the declaration of the Constitution, the translation of the Koran into Turkish was begun simultaneously by different writers. It aroused not a little stir in Moslem circles, and the undertaking was opposed by those of the old school. The earliest translation that appeared was entitled " Terjumat el Koran," by Ibrahim Hilmi, and was printed at Stamboul about two years ago. Another translation appeared in the Turkish bi-monthly, *Islam Majmu'asi*, edited by Halim Thabit. The translator signed himself *Kh. N.* So far only thirteen numbers of this journal have appeared. The Director of the Khedivial Library at Cairo, who showed me the magazine, expressed his opinion that the enterprise had been stopped by the Turkish Government, and feared that all copies of the paper so far issued would be confiscated and destroyed. Ahmed Effendi Aghaieff, in the *Jeune Turc*, advocates these translations as a necessary religious reform, a sign of the times, and as the only way to reach the masses with the truths of Islam. He wrote :

"We must begin this (translation) at once, and show the people that it is possible to reach the authentic foundations of our religion. First in rank of these is the Koran. Till now the ordinary Turk read this, committed it to memory, said his prayers and had his communion with God, absolutely without understanding the sense and content of what he read or prayed. Naturally his readings and prayers made no such impression on his heart and soul as we should expect from the reading of a holy book and the recitation of a prayer. Reading and prayer were both mechanical; here was one of the principal causes of the impotence of religion as an educational force, and this obstacle must be removed.

"It is this thought that has led to the translation of the Koran into Turkish; and the remarkable thing, and that which shows how ripe the time is for this enterprise, is that the translation has been begun in quarters utterly at variance with each other in their tendencies. An entirely new religious era is opening in Turkey. We can already foresee that it will be big with beneficent results for the country; and the country is so ready for such work that the protests against the translation have been remarkably feeble and have not even attracted general attention."

The hope expressed in this editorial, however, was not realised. Neither of these translations have so far been completed, the Sheikh-ul-Islam himself having forbidden all translations of the sacred Arabic text into Turkish. Even an appeal to the Grand Vizier, we are told, met with no response. There is no doubt, however, that after the war those who have begun this translation will complete it. The spirit in which it was undertaken is well indicated by Ibrahim Hilmi's preface, from which we translate two paragraphs as they appeared in the *Aegyptische Nachrichten* (Cairo) in a review of the work:

"To confer a favour upon my countrymen, I have decided to translate the noble contents of the Holy Koran into simple and smooth Turkish. It is true that earlier Turkish Commentaries on the Koran, or Korans with explanatory notes, have appeared, but all these works were published in obscure and classical style, and

did not give the meaning of the text clearly, so our Moslem brethren received little benefit from them. In my youth I learned the whole Koran by heart and became a *Hafiz*. Even now I can recite the Koran with the right intonations, but nevertheless I did not understand hardly a single phrase; and this is the case with hundreds of thousands among the Moslems. They have spent their youth in learning the proper recital of the Koran, have even learned it by heart, but of the meaning of the Holy Book they understand nothing. The foundations of our faith are unknown to them.

"Truly the Koran did not descend from heaven merely as a masterpiece of beautiful Arabic eloquence. Non-Arabic speaking nations have rightly expressed the desire to know what the book contains. Everyone cannot learn sufficient Arabic to understand the Koran, nor have they time to wade through twenty volumes of Commentaries. Since I have for a long time laboured in my native country with patriotic zeal for its intellectual and social reformation, I have now the special wish to give a version of the Koran in the language of the people. The translators have done their best to help all the readers, especially the youth at school, to a right understanding of the sacred text, and have, therefore, used simple language. The reader will not misjudge my religious object and my good intention in this work. Even when the Turk reads his Koran in Turkish he will not abandon the use of the original text and the commentaries. May God bless my undertaking and this new translation."

To sum up the result of our investigation. The Koran has been translated into twelve European languages, and, not counting the polyglot editions, we have in these languages thirty-four versions (no less than eight in the English language alone). In Oriental languages we have been able to learn of some ten versions, and in the case of one or two of these the information seems doubtful. When we remember that this work of translation has, with a few exceptions, been the work of Western scholars, Orientalists and missionaries, the contrast between the Arabic Koran and the Bible, the

Book for all nations, is strikingly evident. And from the missionary standpoint we have nothing to fear from modern Koran translations; rather may we not hope that the contrast between the Bible and the Koran will be evident to all readers when they compare them in their vernacular? As long as orthodox Islam, however, retains its grip on the strategic centres of the Moslem world, it may be doubted whether the translations of the Koran made for Moslems by their own leaders will have any wide circulation. At Constantinople and Cairo the leaders still seem bound to discourage any translation of their Sacred Book.* We are told that at Lahore a well-known Moslem lawyer was recently speaking to his co-religionists in the Panjab on matters connected with Islam, and protested against this mistaken policy. "The reason why Christians succeed is because wherever they go they have the Bible and say their prayers in their mother-tongue; whereas we have wrapped up our religion in an Arabic dress. We should give the people the Koran and let them say their prayers in their own language." The only answer he received was, "Thou art thyself an unbeliever to say such things."

Cairo. S. M. ZWEMER.

* *Cf.*, "Al Manar," Vol. XVII., Part 2, p. 160 (against a Turkish version); and XVII., Part 10, p. 794 (protesting against a new English version by Kamal-ud-Din, Editor of the *Islamic Review*).

WAS MOHAMMED SINCERE?

——:o:——

[By permission of the author, we give our readers a portion of his recent essay, "Mahomet fut-il sincère?" published at Paris, 1914 (Bureaux des Recherches de Sciences Religieuses). As a discussion of a subject which remains vital, we recommend the whole book to our readers. The article was translated by Miss F. J. Dupré.—ED.]

WAS Mohammed sincere? We limit the complicated problem of Mohammed's sincerity to the following points:

It is extremely important to be able to determine (*a*) how Mohammed understood his own responsibility, and (*b*) if he ever examined himself about it. A passage from the Koran (Surah v. 16) can give us light on the subject. At the last day 'Isa (Christ), who was asked by Allah if he ever attributed to himself divinty, answered thus: "If I have done it, Thou knowest it; Thou knowest the innermost secrets of my soul, and I do not know those of Thine. Dost Thou not know the hidden thoughts?" I wonder whether it is possible to avoid more lightly an embarrassing question. Mohammed found this method convenient. What is the use of proofs? "God has them; the Prophets only transmit a message" (Surah xlvi. 23).

Did Khadija's husband ever think of examining his own conscience?* Nothing proves it. But if he happened

* According to Caetani, "Annali dell' Islam," I., 200, he would have done so at the beginning of his career; he then is afraid to be the toy of an evil spirit. Tab. Annales I., 1150, 8, etc., I refuse to admit this interpretation suggested by certain texts of the Koran, wrongly interpreted. *Cf.*, our "Koran and Tradition." So the Moslem traditionalists succeed in veiling the lack in the Meccan period. In the *Sira* the *horror vacui* has never been exaggerated. Like Moses and Jonah, Mohammed is said to have wished to escape from his mission. The traditions copy and make use of these Biblical stories.

to examine his own heart, he cannot have done so on the same principle at the beginning, in the middle, and especially at the end of his career. His responsibility—if he ever was conscious of any—could not have appeared to him in the same light at such different periods of his life.

Another fact deserves consideration. Men have not always and in all countries had the same standard of loyalty. In Mecca, it is true, Mohammed deserved the title of *amin* (faithful). To us, in the twentieth century, an *amin* Koreishite might be a scoundrel. In our civilisation, two thousand years of Christianity and philosophy have determined and elevated the conception of human loyalty. *Bonum ex integra causa, malum ex quocumque defectu.* In virtue of this axiom we exclude from sincerity any alloy. Loyalty exists or not, but it cannot be combined with a quantity, however infinitesimal, of duplicity, of interested views.

Studying Mohammed's methods of action and basing them on these principles, Father Lammens reaches the following conclusions:

If policy is the art of making use of men in order to obtain one's aim, Mohammed possessed this art in a remarkable degree. From the time of the Hejira, his whole career reveals in him the passionate diplomat. Nothing, I imagine, is more apt to subvert human conscience than political shrewdness, the habit of demanding from one's conscience, in preference to the right, the solution of problems referring to the highest interest of societies. To refuse to admit the political element in Mohammed's life is to forget his Koreishite up-bringing. In order to rule one must look ahead. The author of the Koran interpreted in his own way this governmental principle. It seems that he wished to spare himself the trouble of inventing. "His mind was receptive, not creative."* He copied, imitated, and proceeded spasmodically. He considered it the height of wisdom to make sure of the present; the next day, he thought, would bring him a solution suited to the new difficulties.

* Ed. Sachau, Über den 2ten Chalifen 'Omar, p. 2.

This constant method of Mohammed makes his Koran the best source of information for the history of his troubled life. In spite of doubts as to the chronology of the Surahs, one can distinguish in them the successive phases of this restless spirit and recognise the daily reflection of contemporary events on the resolves of the Prophet. The book of Allah has become the dairy of his life; in it he combines and separates alternately the subject and its environment. His companions were not ignorant of his instability. When he received a new revelation caused by a particular case, they inquired whether the revelation was general or simply applied to them. They lived in expectation* and in constant dread of these verses, knowing so well the impressionability of the Master.

A convinced monotheist, but eager for easy success, Mohammed soon agreed with the polytheism of the Koreish. In Medina he congratulated himself on having found a *modus vivendi* with the "people of the two Books." Scarcely knowing their religious system, he hoped to make them his helpers. Before definitely forbidding certain things, such as wine, he experimented upon them. He insisted neither on the fast nor on the daily prayers, and never gave them the same importance as that of the *zakat*. This really became a practice. His original intention in the institution of the *hajj* was to revive the idea of the conquest of Mecca. This profane scheme gave rise to a sort of liturgy† in Islam. Above all, he relied upon time to accomplish his purpose. This became his rule of conduct with regard to the important towns of Taif and Mecca,‡ which remained practically pagan till his death.

The innumerable inconsistencies found in his doctrine and conduct betray the diplomat, preoccupied by the present and desirous not to make difficulties for himself, and the former trader finding in everything an oppor-

* Osd., IV., 81. *Cf.*, Koran IX., 64.

† The whole ceremonial of the Hajj.

‡ *Cf.*, this with the ever-recurring remark in the *hadith* and the *tafsir*, "When this verse was revealed, it appeared difficult for the Moslems."

tunity for barter and exchange. It seems that he made it a point to avoid looking beyond this. After all, had he not the incomparable resource of the abrogations ? This may be the reason why he did not compile his own revelations.

Mohammed was not afraid to associate Allah with his business and with his breach of contracts. The God of the Koran recognised the vacillation of his mind and his desire to take into account the defective memory of his Prophet.* If he cancelled a rule, did he not take good care to replace it by a better one ? Thus making of Allah, as Mr. Torrey says, " a somewhat magnified and idealised picture of a Mekkan merchant."†

Made up of illogical contradictions and compromise, this policy, of a character essentially Arabian, was to end in breaking down opposition by the very fact of its persistence. Mohammed said so in the Koran. " Allah is with those who persevere " (*Inna Allaha ma' as-sabirin*).‡

" Le commerçant loyal, *amîn*, saura tourner sa parole, agir dans l'ombre, comme un sicaire ou surprendre ses ennemis§ avec une foudroyante rapidité. Cet ambitieux, jaloux de son autorité, aura l'air de se laisser mener par les Compagnons pour mieux les entraîner à sa suite. Il affecte de les consulter, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de leur faire partager une responsabilité. Au milieu de l'hostilité des Qorais et des Juifs, il se heurte partout aux intrigues des Ansârs et des Ēmigrés, frères dans l'islam, mais frères-ennemis, il saura manœuvrer avec une surprenante dextérité. Il arrivera à ses disciples de " lui marcher sur les talons, de lui disputer jusqu' à son

* Allah recommended him " not to forget " (Surah 87. 6). His Companions reminded him of the verses that he had forgotten. Hanbal 6. 62, 7 d. 1, J. S. Tabaq., VI., 33, 3, Abu 'Obaid, *Garib al-hadit* (ms. Kuprulu) 187*a*.

† Koran 2. 100.

‡ Koran 2. 148 ; 8. 48-67 ; 37. 102, etc., especially 16. 126-127.

§ Spécialement, lorsqu'il s'agira de dissiper les rassemblements de Bédouins dans les environs de Médine. Il était admirablement renseigné par son service d'espionnage, par ses agents secrets, répandus dans toute l'Arabie. Rien de merveilleux comme cette organisation, le chef-d'oeuvre de Mahomet. A la *Sîra* elle à donné le change sur la diffusion réelle de l'islam, à la mort du Prophète.

manteau," comme il l'avoua lui-même ;* il mourra dans une sorte d'isolement.† Mais son prestige et son oeuvre grandiront après lui. "A l'encontre des succès restreints de sa prédication, quand on constate ceux de l'homme d'État, on serait tenté de se demander, si ce n'était pas là son talent spécial."‡

Et plus il avancera dans sa carrière agitée, plus la politique et les préoccupations terrestres s'empareront de lui, au point de l'envahir complètement. A bon droit M. Hirschfeld récuse le parallèle entre Mahomet et les anciens prophètes. Chez ces derniers les qualités du début les accompagnent jusqu' à la fin de leur carrière ; " chez Mahomet, elles diminuent dans la mesure de son influence grandissante. Les prophètes bibliques n'avaient pas de politique personnelle ; l'attitude de Mahomet durant la période médinoise fut principalement politique."§

" At no epoch of his career was Mohammed, so to speak, *débonnaire*, but he was a fanatic." Whatever may be thought of this severe judgment by Reckendorf, success became fatal to his honesty ; he became hopelessly wrecked by it. Finally from the time of the *fath*‖ and the events that followed, Mohammed—the owner of rich domains taken from the Jews, receiving tribute from commercial cities on the borders of Erythrea and of Syria—returned to his original nature which was so deeply sensual.¶ During none of these epochs did the voluptuous Mohammed have courage to withdraw into himself and examine the motives of his adventurous conduct.** He preferred to be lulled by the soothing music of many of the closing verses in Surahs of the Koran—*e.g.*, Allah forgives ; He is merciful toward those who serve Him !

* Darimi (ed. lith.), 21. 5. Comp. Koran 49. 4, 5.

† *Cf.*, notre *Triumvirat ;* on y verra le détail des intrigues, ourdies autour de son lit de mort, de l'abandon de son cadavre.

‡ Reckendorf, Mohammed und die Seinen, page 89.

§ Hirschfield, " New Researches into the Composition and the Exegesis of the Quran " (Preface).

‖ Conquest of Mecca.

¶ Cf., Caetani *Annali* I. 215.

** *Cf.*, Caetani *Annali* I. 325.

Allah had "forgiven his former and recent sins."* His personal psychology is based on such optimistic formulas evolved by his conscience. The apoplectic Prophet—as the Hadith represent him to us—found himself unable to see further. The abuse of pleasure had broken all the springs of his energy.

"Quand donc, à l'exception des siens, l'humanité le proclame un pseudo-prophète, ce jugement sommaire peut être maintenu sous les réserves, formulées plus haut. Il a commencé par être sa première dupe. Au début, l'honnête mari de Hadîga fut victime de l'hallucination et de sa propre présomption. Cette constatation l'excuse médiocrement. Parmi les signes de la mission prophétique, lui-même avait énuméré les miracles. Autant valait enrégistrer sa condamnation. Pour échapper à cette conclusion, il s'est payé de sophismes.† S'il n'est pas parvenu à découvrir sa responsabilité personnelle, l'inanité de ses prétentions prophétiques, c'est pour avoir délibérément fermé les yeux."

However, his conscience protested once. It was, it seems, on his death-bed, in one of the conscious moments of his long agony.‡ He is said to have asked to write a testimony which would have kept his disciples from error. But the desire of the dying man was not granted.§ This wish was to remain fruitless ; it was not heard. Mohammed saw himself a holy prophet ; he had only aspired to be the Prophet of the Arabs, but his disciples made him the supreme guide of men.

HENRI LAMMENS, S.J.

* Surah 48. 2 ; not "sins past and future," as the words have so often been translated. For the study of the means used for obtaining the forgiveness of sins of the believers, see MS. of Ibn Hagar, 3651 (Mosque Lâleli, Constantinople).

† Son miracle à lui, c'est le Qoran. Si l'on insiste, il réplique : "Le miracle n'engendre pas nécessairement la foi" ; ou bien, "Dieu recourt au miracle, uniquement pour inspirer la crainte" (Surah 17. 59).

‡ *Cf.*, our *Triumvirat*, 130, seq.

§ This is a very obscure story, and it is difficult to find the truth of it. It is possible that there might have been in it a Shiite protestation against the ambitions of the friends of Abu Bakr and 'Omar.

BAHAISM:
ITS FAILURE IN MORAL CONDUCT

——:o:——

No argument need be made against Bahaism on the ground that its followers fail to live up to its precepts, for this can be said of all religions—even of Christians. But Bahai writers, by continually boasting of the saintly character and superior conduct of Bahais in contrast with others, and by making this a proof of their religion, make it necessary to show the groundlessness of their claim, whether this is put forth for the founders, or for the followers.

The claim is thus stated by the Bahai historians: "They are remarkable only for their charity, kindliness, purity, godliness, rectitude, sincerity, integrity, generosity, chastity and strict avoidance of all forbidden things."* "In their conduct, actions, morality and demeanour was no place for objection." "People have confidence in their trustworthiness, faithfulness, and godliness."† Abdul Fazl says,‡ that owing to the supernatural reform of their characters they became "universally celebrated for good conduct, noted everywhere for excellent morals."

"From the arrival of Baha Ullah in Bagdad to the present time, they have not committed that which would disturb a single soul."§ Myron Phelps says‖: "This faith does not expend itself on beautiful and unfruitful theories, but has a vital and effective power to mould life towards the very highest kind of human character, as exemplified by the life of Abbas and the salient characteristics of his followers."

* "New History," translated by Prof. Browne, p. 236.

† "Traveller's Narrative," translated by the same author, p. 82.

‡ "Bahai Proofs," pp. 63-77.

§ "Brilliant Proof," p. 12. ‖ "Life of Abbas Effendi," p. 37.

Similarly, Remey says,* "The effect of this Cause upon the lives of the people of every race leaves no doubt as to the divine source of the teaching." Mirza Jani, speaking of the proofs the Babis gave to Moslems, says:† "We say 'We have witnessed miracles on the part of this man.' They retort, 'He is a sorcerer.' We say, 'Come, let us invoke God's curse on whomsoever is in error, leaving the decision to Him.' They reply, 'This is not permitted in their law.' We say, 'Let us kindle a fire and enter into the midst together.' They answer, 'You are mad.' We further say, 'Consider the godliness, piety and self-renunciation of those who believe.' They return us no answer." I propose to return the answer.

1. Bahais particularly boast of love as one of their characteristics. They continually quote Baha's words, "to consort with all religions with spirituality and fragrance." Phelps claims for them (p. 112), "A peculiar spirit which marks them off from other men—whose essence is expressed in one word—Love. These men are lovers—lovers of God, of their master and teachers of all mankind." Chase says, "Bahaism removes religious rancour." Yet both these Bahai writers inveigh against orthodox Christianity with bitterness and scorn. Dreyfus (p. 87), with an ignoring of facts that is utterly astounding, says, "Their conduct was so perfect, their harmony so complete, that although they had been there (at Acca) for forty years, no judge had yet to intervene for them in any legal dispute."

These statements fill one with utter amazement in view of their history. Let me marshal the facts in array as to the time of the Bab, of Baha, and of Abdul Baha.

(1) *The Babis and Bahais show hatred and animosity against the Shiahs of Persia, abuse and revile them, and heap maledictions and curses upon them.* These evil feelings are shown especially against the rulers and the Mullahs. The Bahai historians indulge so much in diatribes and maledictions, that Professor Browne wearies of translating them, and omits pages of abuse.‡ I will

* "The Bahai Movement," p. 111. † "New History," pp. 373, 61.

‡ "New History," pp. 281, 289, 320, 321.

give selections to show the rancorous spirit of the new religion. "They," the Babis, says Professor Browne,* "entertained for the Kajar rulers a hatred equal to that for the Mullahs." They called the Shahs "bastard" and "scoundrel" and sent them to hell. "They hated the Mullahs with an intense and bitter hatred," and anticipated the fulfilment of the prophecy "when the Ka'im or Mahdi should behead seventy thousand Mullahs like dogs."

The Bab called Haji Kazim Khan, chief Mujtihid of the Sheikhs, "The Quintessence of Hell Fire and the infernal tree of Zakkum." The Bab did not confine his manifestation of hatred to words, for "when a prisoner in the household of Anti-Christ, that accursed one (the Shah), the Mullah of Maku showed him some discourtesy, whereupon the Ocean of Divine Wrath was stirred, and he (the Bab) brought down his staff with such vigour on the unclean form of that foul creature that the august staff broke in two. He then ordered Aga Sayid Hasan (his scribe) to drive out the dog from the room, though the accursed fellow was a personage of great consideration."† "The Bab took leave of his jailer, Ali Khan, with the words, '*Ya ma'aun*'" (Accursed one).‡

It is unnecessary to describe the feelings of the Babis at the time of their persecutions, sanguinary wars and attempt to assassinate the Shah. They made no secret of their hatred.

I pass on to the Bahais, who after forsaking Babism were, so Abdul Fazl claims, transformed and reformed by Baha. The latter is the Apostle of Love (?), who in the Ikan calls the Shiahs a foul erring sect, and the Mullahs "worthless wretches, who have read the Koran every morning and have not yet attained to a single letter of its purport;" who curses his Turkish guards, "Shame upon them"! God shall consume their life with fire, and verily He is the fiercest of avengers' (Lawh-i-Rais); and who exultingly celebrated in a hymn of triumph the death of Fu'ad Pasha, the vizier, who had exiled him and

* "New History," pp. 17, 353.

† "Mirza Jani," pp. 131, 132. ‡ "New History," p. 352.

consigns him "to hell, where the heart boils and the tormenting angel meets him."*

A similar spirit of love (?) is shown by Abul Fazl, the apologist, for Bahaism in his discussion as recorded in the "New History" (pp. 173-190). His abusive language runs on page after page. He describes the Mullahs of Persia as mischief-makers, dolls, a pack of scoundrels, tyrants, fools, plunderers of men's property and their wives, sectarian zealots steeped in prejudice, thinly disguising their greed of worldly lucre under a veil of sanctity, sprung from the rustic population and the scum of the towns, ignorant of the decencies of society and neglectful of good breeding, of notoriously evil lives and vicious practices, with wickedness, worldliness, greed, rapacity and selfishness which are incurable, and folly that exceeds all bounds and surpasses all conception, with stupidity, overweening arrogance and presumption absolutely unparalleled, hiding the truth with falsehood, circulating false reports, possessing malignant hatred, malice, spite and notorious eagerness to shed blood, yet with cowardice like a timid girl. He avers that they are lacking in patriotism, nullify sovereign authority, encroach upon and usurp the power of Kings, dismiss Viziers, invite the people to rebel, cause national decay, set their feet upon the necks of all mankind, menace the order and well-being of the government, devour public wealth and substitute treason for service. "Perish their houses of folly," he exclaims, "whose learning is all pretence, and their colleges which never yield a man of sense."

This is a condensation of the learned Persian Bahai's amiable (?) description of the chiefs of his national religion. The author of the "New History" (1880) surpasses him in abuse. He compares the Mullahs to a "host of foul reptiles who befoul and pollute the pure water of life so that it waxeth loathsome and abominable." "They are fraudulent and sophistical hypocrites. Inwardly reprobate and outwardly devout, clothing themselves in the garb of spurious asceticism

* "Journal Royal Asiatic Society," 1892, p. 271.

and simulated piety, fabricators of traditions." Later, Haji Mirza Heidar Ali, writing by command of Abdul Baha, says of Persia, "The old religious sects day by day become more ignorant, until they degenerate into ferocious wolves and mad dogs, even surpassing the ravenous man-eating beasts."* Is it any wonder, in view of such scurrility, that the Persian Mullahs occasionally used their power to the injury of Bahais.

A propos of the slaying of Aga Sayid Jafar of Abargoo, the "Great Lord and Master, Abdul Baha Abbas, revealed the following in a Visiting tablet to be *chanted at his tomb* by each pilgrim." "Hell is for such as rejected thee, fire for such as sentenced thee to death, infernal flame be for such as betrayed thee, and the hellish gulf is for such as shed thy blood."† How awful it is to teach the people to make such imprecations! How far from the spirit which teaches to pray for them that despitefully use us! How can Mr. Phelps aver that "they have no trace of bitterness or resentment for their sufferings?"

These quotations show the vindictive spirit of the Bahai leaders. Anyone who has conversed with Bahais in Persia knows that the same spirit animates them all, and that they revile the Mutasharis, Sheikhis, and other sects of Shiahs, and especially their mullahs. They are kind and helpful to their own particular sect of Bahais, vindictive to all who have opposed them. To this same purport, Dr. Frame quotes a Persian as saying of Abdul Baha, "He is kind towards his friends and bitter towards his enemies."‡

The habit of Bahais of denying that they have animosity against other religions reminds one of one of their own stories. A certain Mullah said to his friend, "If you notice in me any objectionable habit, please inform me." "I perceive," answered his friend, "a habit of using abusive language." "Abusive language," cried the Mullah. "What rascally knave calls me abusive? What shameless ruffian dares so to accuse me?"

* "Martyrs of 1903," p. 3.

† "Visiting Tablets," p. 12, New York Bahai Board of Counsel.

‡ MOSLEM WORLD, 1912, p. 237.

(2.) *The bitterness, animosity and maledictions of the Bahais against the Azalis* are greater than is shown above against their Shiah compatriots. The quarrel between these two sects into which the Babis split surpassed all bounds. Hatred manifested itself early in the exile, while Baha was still outwardly obedient to Azal. Bahiah Khanum says (Phelps, pp. 19, 20), "In Bagdad, disharmony and misunderstanding arose among the believers—discord, strife, contention." Baha separated and went to Kurdistan. He refers to these discussions in the Ikan (pp. 178-181). "The religion now entered," says Professor Browne, "upon a phase of inestimable dissensions, bitter animosity, schism and internecine strife."

After they were removed to Adrianople, the quarrel waxed hotter. Abul Fazl describes the "interior fires of dissension and jealousy of rival leaders far exceeding the enmity of outsiders."* The manuscript, "'Life of Baha," in my possession, refers to "all manner of intrigues, falsehoods and untruths."

Of these times at Adrianople I have heard an interesting narrative from a Persian Mirza, in whose testimony as a witness I have strongest confidence. He was at the time a *peesh-Khidmat* to the Persian Minister at Constantinople. He was at Samsun when Azal Baha and their party embarked, and was introduced to them by Haji Rajab Ali Khan. He saw them day by day. Afterwards he went to Adrianople bearing presents to Baha. He found Baha and Azal living in separate rooms of the same house, under guards. The contest for supremacy was active, and the *murids* (followers) had been won over by Baha. I continue, using the Mirza's language: "I entered one day. I heard words of angry disputation and revilings. Yahya (Azal) said, 'Oh! Husani Ali (Baha), you are vile! Do you not remember your sodomies? You are defiled. Your wife is a bad woman!' Husain Ali answered, 'Oh, cursed one! Your son, Nur-i-Kanur (Nur allah), is the son of a certain Sayid—not your own. You are a sodomite, an adulterer.' Such and like revilings they hurled at one

* "Bahai Proofs," pp. 51-61.

another. I called Muskin Kalam, and said to him: "What are these words and doings? If Baha is true, why does he talk so? Why do these brothers revile each other? What a fool I am to have come so many miles to bring presents to and to hear such vile words from a divinity!" I then went to the room of Ishan. My companion said to him, "Why do they revile so?" I said, "I wish to ask you a question." He said, "What is it?" I said, "You say they do not work miracles, but must there not be personal influence and power in their speech?"

This bitter quarrelling between Azal and Baha and their followers led to mutual accusations against each other before the Osmanli government, and to the transfer of the former to Cyprus and the latter to Acca. It developed into a bitter schism. The two sects in Persia hate each other intensely. Professor Browne found the attitude of the Bahais towards the Azalis in Persia "unjust and intolerant," and reprimanded them for "their violence and unfairness." They cursed and reviled in the presence of Professor Browne.*

The climax of the feud in a series of assassinations of Azalis by Bahais, I have already narrated.† The Bahais had the longest dagger, but the Azalis did not lack a bitter pen. An Azali writer in the *Hasht Behisht* says, "The misleadings of black darkness brought me into the City of Blood (Acca). I met Abbas Effendi, the whisperer of evil thoughts, one of the manifestations of infidelity. Afterwards I saw the rest of the wicked one's followers. Their sayings and arguments consist of a farrago of baseless stories, calumnies, falsehoods and lies, and not one of them had any knowledge of the first principles of the religion of the Bayan. They are all devoid of knowledge, shortsighted, of common capacity, hoodwinked, people of darkness, spurned of nature, hypocrites, corrupters of texts, blind imitators. God hath taken away from them his light and hath left them in the darkness of a Wicked One and hath destroyed them in the abyss of their own vain imaginings."

* "A Year Among the Persians," pp. 525-530.

† MOSLEM WORLD, July, 1914.

He was admitted to audience with Baha, and narrates, "When I came there and looked upon the Arch-Idol, that Greatest Talisman, that personified Revolt, that rebellious Lucifer, the envious Iblis, I saw a form on the throne and heard the 'lowing of the Calf' (Baha—Golden Calf). I saw the Name on Ahriman the accursed, and how the fingers of the demon wore the ring (alluding to the theft of Solomon's ring by the demon). Thereat there came to my mind the verse of Hafiz:

"Efficient is the Name Divine; be of good cheer, O heart!
The div becomes not Solomon by guile and cunning art."
(Translated by Prof. BROWNE).

(3.) *A fierce spirit of hatred has been shown by Bahais to one another since the death of Baha Ullah.* The sons of Baha quarrelled bitterly about the succession to the leadership. Abdul Baha Abbas was recognised by one party and opposed by his brothers, Mirza Mehmet Ali and M. Badi Ullah. Abbas' mother, of course, sided with her son, and the other wives of Baha against him. Of the followers at Acca, fifty took one side and forty the other. For the past score of years they have quarrelled with, reviled, boycotted and cursed each other. Execrations and anathemas have been hurled back and forth. Abbas has been denounced for concealing and changing the father's will, for forging false tablets of Baha and suppressing others, for maltreating his stepmother and attempting to kidnap the widow of his brother Zia-Ullah, for insulting, beating and imprisoning M. Aga Jan (the life long amanuensis of Baha), for stubborn pride, selfishness and injustice, especially in appropriating the whole family property and income, leaving the others in penury. "Alas! Alas!" exclaims M. Aga Jan, "Abbas Effendi has caused his followers to display such vehemence of hatred and rancour, the like of which has never been shown by barbarous nations and even the most ignorant tribes."*

On the other hand Mirza Hadad accused M. Mehmet Ali and M. Badi Ullah of being "profligate and wanton, frequenting wineshops, and being spendthrifts." Mr. Getsinger said he had seen Badi Ullah in the street

* "Facts for Behaists," p. 54.

intoxicated and being helped home by his servants, and further, that he and Mehmet Ali had taken and pawned the effects of Baha—rugs, hangings, etc., and a pearl rosary which had belonged to Baha and was valued at ten thousand pounds, and had squandered the money.

Afterwards, Badi Ullah, starved into submission to Abdul Baha, published an "Epistle to the Bahai World." The edition of this in English is interpolated, according to Dr. F. O. Peace, the Chicago historian of the Bahais. However, in it (p. 28) he turns on and denounces the Nakazeen (violaters), saying, "They have no God save passion, no object save personal interest," and accuses Mehmet Ali of purloining the papers and tablets of Baha and interpolating and falsifying them, and of cursing and execrating Abdul Baha through jealousy. Finally, each party accused the other before the Turkish Government, with the result that the Sultan ordered them all back to restraint in the prison-city of Acca.

I hold no brief for Mehmet Ali and his party; they may be all they are accused of, but certainly Abdul Baha showed up in a bad light, for he, who is such a preacher of peace, and arbitration, refused to arbitrate his quarrel, when the British Vice-Consul at Haifa and Mrs. Templeton, formerly Mrs. Lawrence Oliphant, offered to act as mediators. He who exhorts with such unction to unity and harmony in association with all religions, declares that any Bahai who does not accept him is cut off, is a violater and a son of perdition. "All must hold aloof from such a one, must sever themselves from him. Even if a King violates, to the extent of an atom, the covenant of Abdul Baha, he shall be cut off immediately."* "Whosoever violates Abdul Baha's word is one of the letters of hell-fire, brutish qualities become alive in him, after his exit from this world he will appear in a brutish form."†

Well may Professor Browne enquire, "Where is the restraining power, when they can show such *bitter* animosity against those of their household?" And of Chase, "Bahaism does bring men into loving unity with

* "Star of West," p. 241, November 23rd, 1913.

† "Sacred Mysteries," by M. Asad Ullah, p. 100.

each other!" How blind the infatuation of Phelps, who sees in Abbas Effendi (p. 255), "A man, who proves to us that self can be utterly forgotten, that all embracing love can be substituted for egotism, that the recorded life of Christ may indeed be realised!" How far from the truth the words of Asad Ullah (Phelps, p. 133), that "Abbas sees the Moslem, the Christian and the Bahai all with one eye—he is equally kind to all!"

This quarrel among the leaders of Bahaism spread to Persia, where it caused bitterness, hatred and division among the Bahais. The anathema and boycott brought disaster, and some were permanently estranged from Bahaism.

In America the fight waxed hot. After 1898, Dr. F. G. Kheiralla, the first Apostle to America, took the side of Mehmet Ali, and was denounced by Abbas. The latter sent other leaders (Persians) to America. "All liars," said a Chicago Behai* to me. Dr. Kheiralla was threatened with assassination by one of the Persians, and obtained police protection. Dr. Getsinger and Mr. Thornton Chase, the "first American believer," accused Dr. Kheiralla of being an impure man and caused his wife to separate from him. Mr. Chase was dubbed dishonest because he did not return borrowed money to Dr. Kheiralla. The Treasurer of the Bahai Society absconded with the funds. Dr. Getsinger qualified for the "Ananias Club" by his stories of *his life* in California. Even Abbas spoke of affairs in Chicago as a "stench." One of the Bahais who turned Azali, wrote, "They have ousted, given bad names, and thrown mud at each other, both in their sermons and in print, worse than any Christian or heathen religions have done."†

II. In the statements of Bahais, which I quoted at the beginning of this article, they boast also of superior chastity and sobriety.

(1). In regard to *sexual immorality*, they are neither better nor worse than other Persians of the middle class, to which they mostly belong. They are not free from

* The followers of Abdul Baha spell their name Bahai, the others Behai.

† "Third Call to Behais," p. 3.

the unnatural vice which disgraces Mohammedan life. Their general treatment of women, and their approval of bigamy, loose divorce, etc., I have set forth elsewhere.*

(2). As to the use of alcoholic liquors and opium, my observation and study lead me to the conclusion that they (Bahais) are more addicted to these than are Moslems. Bahai law, as that of Islam, prohibits the use of alcohol. The Bab prohibited opium and tobacco. The Azalis held to this law, but Baha allowed tobacco. It is a mistake to suppose that all Moslems are total abstainers. Certain classes, as officials, nobles, and soldiers, are addicted to liquors. Regarding the use of wine and opium by Bahais, we have a witness who writes his experience without prejudice or motive.

Professor Browne in "A Year Among the Persians," tells of his social intercourse with Azalis and Bahais. His prolonged stay in Kirman was largely spent among Bahais. He became so intimate with them as to be considered one of them. He gives us an unvarnished tale of everyday experiences. (Read pp. 475 to 540). It is evident that many of the Bahais lived in the habitual use of wine and opium. No missionary ever had such an opportunity to know what goes on behind their closed doors. One and another and another Bahai is described by name and occupation and incidentally as hard drinkers. Sheikh —— "is a drunkard and a libertine." Usta A —— the pea-parcher, "returned in a state of boastful intoxication, talking blasphemous nonsense." The son of the Bahai postmaster "wants money to get drunk and play the libertine." Haji Kirazi is "a drinker and a libertine" and a reviler. Another is described as a victim of copious libations of beer. Another as a "drunkard and blasphemous in his cups."

Opium smoking seemed to be a common habit among them.† Of certain dinners Professor Browne writes, "All present were Babis (Bahais), and we sat sipping tea and whiffing opium." "We sat talking late and smoking opium." "The wildest ascriptions of deity to

* *Missionary Review of the World*, October and November, 1913.

† "A Year Among the Persians," pp. 499, 500, 505, 520, 524, 525, 540.

Baha were made when intoxicated with wine or opium. Then they praised the 'Beloved.'" "The poor lad, son of the telegraphist whom I had seen smoking opium, was dead." "A Bahai dervish was engaged in smoking an opium pipe." "The Prince's secretary (this time an Azali) was a confirmed opium smoker."*

The above citations go to show that Bahaism has not that transforming power that is claimed for it. Bahais are yet in the gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity. These facts refute their ungrounded assumptions and boastings. Take the following from M. Abul Fazl, "Have you ever heard of a Bahai accused of wine-drinking, wounding anybody, murder, etc.?"† "None are accused of evil deeds or bad morals!"‡ Sprague, one of their dupes, says, "It brings man to a higher conception of duty and life than has been the heritage of the Churches."§ How blind to facts is such fanatical faith!

III. *Another characteristic of Bahais is gross exaggeration not distinguishable from wilful misrepresentation.* It pervades all Bahai literature. For example, "When the Bab was killed (in 1850), many people of all nations flocked to Persia to enquire and become converted!"‖ Abdul Baha leads the others in exaggerating the effects of Bahaism on Persia, in uniting races, promoting peace and love, elevating morals, and improving the condition of women, etc.

Another class of inaccuracies is illustrated by the assertion often repeated, that "contributions are never solicited,"¶ and that "Bahai teachers never accept the slightest coin for their work."** Per contra, this journal continually solicits for the teachers and schools in Persia

* On one occasion (pp. 250, 251) they secretly filled Browne's pipe with hashish (bhang). He recognised the taste and refused it. Otherwise, would they possibly have shown him "visions" to further persuade him of the truths of Bahaism, as is commonly reported concerning them?

† "Bahai Proofs," p. 79.

‡ Idem, p. 82.

§ "The Bahai Revelations," p. 4.

‖ P. R. Dealy, "The Dawn of Knowledge," p. 17.

¶ "Remey," p. 100.

** "Abdul Baha in Star of the West," July 1st, 1912.

and for funds to build the Mashrak-ul-Azhar temple in Chicago. A most conspicuous form of exaggeration is in regard to the number of Bahai converts. "Millions" is the usual figure used by American writers. Thus Phelps (p. 100) speaks of the millions of Bahais in Persia. "The Oriental Rose" (Ford) claims 12,000,000 in Persia and Russia; McNutt ("Unity through Love"), "His followers number millions from all the religious systems of the world." The origin of these large figures is as follows: Dr. Kheiralla* says, "Abdul Karim (1896) assured me that the believers in Baha were fifty millions. I wrote to a Syrian to ask in Acca the number. He was informed by Sayid Mohammed, secretary of Abbas Effendi, that the number of Bahais was fifty-five million souls." Kheiralla afterwards recognised his error and apologised for the exaggeration, saying that he was greatly deceived. But the misstatement has gone on its course. Sometimes the story is that a large proportion of the population of Persia, or "a half," are Bahais (Dreyfus, p. 42). These statements are very wide of the mark. Though some judicious writers have placed the number at 500,000 on a basis of ten million for all Persia, yet I believe that the number does not exceed 100,000 to 200,000 in Persia. I reach this conclusion on the basis of a large amount of data which I have collected. The missionaries, Jordan,† Frame,‡ and Shedd,§ agree with my estimate.

As to other races and countries, Abul Fazl says (p. 64), "Jews, Zoroastrians and Nusaireyeh by thousands are Bahais." Haji M. Heidar Ali says ("Martyrdoms in 1903"), "The majority of Zoroastrians are recognised as Bahais in all sincerity." Per contra, Professor Browne says,‖ "I had been informed that Bahaism was spreading among the Zoroastrians. However, after much intercourse with the Zoroastrians of Kirman and Yezd for the space of three and a half months, I came to the conclusion

* "Three Questions," p. 22.

† *The Mohammedan World* (Cairo), p. 130.

‡ MOSLEM WORLD, p. 238, 1912.

§ "Bahaism and Its Claims," pp. 2-4.

‖ "Journal Royal Asiatic Society," 1889, p. 501.

that few, if any, have adopted that creed." In India there are probably a couple of hundred Parsee Bahais. As to Jews, Remey wrote, "In Hamadan there is a very large Israelitish following of Baha. Others claim tens of thousands in Persia and Turkey. An exact census taken by a Jew, showed that there were over fifty-nine parents, and, counting their children, one hundred and ninety-four Israelitish Bahais out of a total of six thousand Jews in Hamadan.

As to the United States, the report is circulated in Persia that millions of Americans are Bahais. "The Wayfarer" (W. T. Ellis) was told at Acca that there were millions in the United States. In Persia a Bahai claimed that one-half of Chicago was Bahai. A Bible colporteur challenged him to go to the telegraph office and enquire of the Mayor of Chicago as to the truth of the assertion. The challenge was not accepted. The facts are reported in the United States Census of Religions (1906). The figures were given by the Bahais. In toto they numbered 2280, of whom 482 were in Chicago and Illinois, and the others in twenty-six scattered groups. Now Bahai estimates do not exceed five thousand for North America.*

In the Turkish Empire they have very few converts. Scarcely a Sunni has ever become a Bahai, and the Sunnis represent fifteen-sixteenths of all Moslems. Mr. Phelps says,† "*All the Bahais in Acca are Persians.*" "There are no other nationalities among them." The inference is unmistakable that no natives of Acca had become Bahais through forty years of contact with Baha and his seventy followers.

The Bahais in the world are probably as follows: In North America, three thousand to four thousand; Great Britain, one hundred; Europe, two hundred; Turkish Empire,‡ including Egypt, five thousand, largely Persian emigrants; India, one thousand; South Africa, Hawaii, and Japan, one hundred; Russia, Caucasus, and

* "Star of West," February 7th, 1912, August 1st, 1913, p. 139.

† "Life of Abbas Effendi," 1903, p. 109.

‡ An Editorial in the *Egyptian Gazette* says: "In Egypt there are a few disciples. Islam remained indifferent, and the Christian community was ignorant of the presence of Abdul Baha."

Trans-Caspia, five thousand; total outside of Persia, fifteen thousand, of whom two-thirds are from the Shiahs. Yet, on account of their active proselytising zeal and their power of misrepresentation, and bearing in mind the success of Mormonism, their errors and real character should be exposed by Christians.

In these articles* I have brought evidence to show the immoral record of Bahais in numerous particulars. They have been found guilty of dishonesty in dealing with facts, falsifying history and changing and forging documents and "Revelations"; of dissimulation, deceit in carrying on their propaganda and in confessing their faith; of exaggeration and misrepresentation regarding their numbers; of vicious habits; of animosity, hatred and vindictiveness, not stopping short of the assassination of rival sectaries. I have not detailed the accusations of the Shiah Mullahs against them. The testimony has been drawn almost entirely from two sources: (1) the writings of Babis and Bahais; (2) from impartial Orientalists who have investigated without desire to accuse or excuse, searching for facts. The testimony is cumulative. If an item or incident should be found incorrect, it does not weaken the damaging force of the rest.

The testimony of missionaries is confirmatory. Dr. Frame, of Resht, says, "The real test of a religion is its influence upon life. Repeatedly we have challenged Bahais, 'Show us from your personal lives a power to regenerate the lives of men.'" Dr. Shedd says, "Does the religion bring about a change of life and character? The reports given by Bahai travellers are glowing, but residents of long standing in Persia have no such tale to tell." Mr. Jordan says, "By neither Moslem, Jew nor Christian are they considered morally superior to the Moslems; in some respects they are rightly judged less so."

Canon Sell says, "The author (F. H. Skrine) calls Bahaism 'the religion of brotherhood,' a curious title for a religion which has produced nothing but dissensions between brothers."

Tabriz, S. G. Wilson, D.D.
Persia.

* *Cf.*, Moslem World, July, 1914, April, 1915.

BEHIND THE VEIL*

——:o:——

In his article, entitled " A Mohammedan Tract Society " (Moslem World, April, 1915), the Rev. R. F. McNeile refers to some books that, to a certain extent, supply the felt want of more really expert information as to the manners and customs of Moslem women ; amongst these he mentions, " Harems et Musalmanes d'Egypte," by " Nîya Salima." This writer was the gifted wife of Rushdî Pasha, the late Prime Minister of Egypt, and died five years ago. Of French birth, she had long resided in Egypt, and had the deepest sympathy with the women of her adopted country. Her books are mines of information regarding the life of women in Egypt. We believe the book, to which Mr. McNeile refers, to be out of print, but " Les Répudiées," a novel, is having a wide circulation. The story opens with a visit of " Ferîda," wife of a wealthy man of peasant extraction called Mûsa, to a black sorceress. She has had a European education, and her mind revolts against the gross superstitions of the Harîm, yet, in her extremity, with divorce threatening her on account of her childlessness, persuaded by a black slavewoman, she resorts to the sorceress. Madame Rushdî Pasha graphically describes the visit ; the revolting yet impressive ceremonies of the sorceress, who is supposed to be possessed by a familiar spirit ; then in a graphic paragraph, which it is best to preserve in its original French, she describes the cunning groping of the sorceress after a clue upon which she can base her oracle :

" La récolte finie, les mousselines forment un tas au creux des genoux de la vieille qui les dénoue et les explore.

* Scenes from *Les Répudiées*. By Niya Salima (Mme. H. Rushdî Pasha). Paris. 1908.

Quand elle les aura vidées toutes et mis l'argent en sûreté, sous sa robe, elle les reprendra l'une après l'autre et, les balançant du bout des ongles, dira, en bégayant : 'A qui ceci ?' Et quelqu'un s'avancera, le cœur tumultueux, l'oreille bourdonnante, pour tâcher de comprendre l'arrêt du destin . . .

" La devineresse se sent tout de suite plus à l'aise : on doit lire comme dans un livre sur cette mobile face. Néanmoins, elle se penche vers la négresse accroupie, et insiste enfantinement :

" ' Qui est-ce ? Dis-le moi. Son nom ? '

" C'est Ferîda *hanum*, la femme de Moussah *effendi*, chuchote la servante.

" En vérité, je l'avais deviné ? riposte l'effrontée mégère, qui reprend sa pose de sphinx, et commence d'une voix d'enfant, zézayante, presque inintelligible.

" Pauvrette ! . . . ton cœur se consume . . .Pauvrette ! Tu veux . . . (*Eternuments et barbouillages*). Je sais . . .Certainement, il viendra . . . le papier . . . (*nouveaux barbouillages*) le papier. . . . Ton mari . . . (*la main qu'elle a saisie tressaille*) ton mari . . . depuis longtemps . . . l'autre mort . . . (*Le main cherche à se dégager : la piste est fausse*). Comprends bien ! . . . (*Série d'éternuments et zézaiements plaintifs*). Dieu ! Elle ne comprend rien ! . . . rien . . . Aie ! . . . Comprend rien ! . . . Fatiguée ! . . . (*Eternuments et légers spasmes des membres*). Pas mort . . . il t'aime . . . (*Les sourcils de Férida se contractent*). Oh ! . . . ne comprend rien . . . Fatiguée ! Ouf ! ton mari . . . pas mort . . . Argent . . . autrefois . . . beaucoup (*Petites phrases coupées et incompréhensibles*). Ouf ! Fatiguées . . . Pauvrette . . . les enfants ! . . .

" Il n'y a pas d'enfants," jette étourdiment lanégresse.

" Et qui te le demande ? . . . Ouf ! . . . Comprend rien . . . pas d'enfants ? . . . Si . . . il vient . . . je le vois . . . (*Cette fois la piste est trouvée : la main s'abandonne*). Menteuse ! (*Gémissements, éternuments, barbouillages, torsion des bras énervés*). Cher petit ami ! O mon cœur ! . . . C'est un garçon . . . Menteuse ! . . . Ouf ! . . . comprennent rien ! . . . un garçon dans un an . . . un garçon. J'affirme et je signe . . .

" Au dehors, une bouffée d'air frais, embusquée derrière la porte, évente brusquement le visage des deux femmes . . .

" Mon Dieu ! . . . soupire Férida, remuée d'espérance. Mon Dieu ! si elle avait dit vrai ! . . . "

One of the most striking scenes in the book is that of a Mohammedan religious law court. It is a vivid and true picture of the horrors entailed by the Mohammedan law of divorce, and is as complete a refutation as one could well imagine of the misrepresentations of some reputed orientalists who indulge in cheep sneers at the information supplied to the public by missionaries.

The Cadi is represented as dealing with a number of cases. Without picking and choosing amongst them, let us just look at the first of these cases :

" Mme. Nadir, staying behind to look for Nabohiya, saw Moussah in the distance making signs to her to come forward. With difficulty they force their way into a large room on the ground floor, and reached two chairs which were placed in the embrasure of a window, a little behind the Cadi.

" He, dressed in the traditional garments of Sheikhs—a long robe of striped silk under a cloth Cuftan—his head enveloped in a voluminous turban, had keen eyes set in a face good-tempered and healthy. Without leaving his seat, he turned towards Mme. Nadir for the conventional words of welcome, and continued his cross-questioning.

" He addressed himself to one of two couples seated facing him across a table. The man, a peasant, his skin blackened by the sun, his face projecting from a pigeon breast, his stony eyes half blind, sat stiff and erect in his chair. The woman, too poor to wear a veil over her face, held a small piece of her ' milaya ' over her right cheek with one hand, and with her left arm held a sleeping child.

" At a question from the Judge, she pushed aside the folds of black muslim that covered the child ; one could not but notice that she was shortly to become a mother again. She said :

" ' When this one is born, I shall have four—I have had eight, perhaps twelve—many have died. I have still

this boy '—and with a slap she pushed forward a youngster who was hiding behind her—' this other in my arms and a girl of ten in the house. As I say, this one that is coming will make four. What will become of us, Oh! my lord?'

"'Speak in your turn,' said the judge, turning to the husband. 'What is the matter?'

"'Nothing. I don't want her any longer, that is all.' 'Why?' 'She doesn't suit me any longer. She is always whining. I do not want her any more.'

"'Well, divorce her,' said the Cadi in a conciliatory tone.

"'No; she can stay as she is.'

"'There. What did I say? You see, my lord? You see, all of you?' sighed the plaintive voice of the woman.

"'There ought to be some good reason for that. Are you a bad wife? quarrelsome? wanting in kindly consideration?'

"'I? I have cringed beneath his heel for the last fifteen years. How many times have I come here demanding justice? The judge sees me as you see me, with my children around me. He condemns this man to shelter and nourish me. I live in the outskirts in a hovel at three francs a month rent. The children cost money, too; they eat, galabiyeds wear out. No one——'

"'Oh! the babbler!' interrupted the Cadi impatiently. 'There is no use in all this talk. Let us come to the point. Does he pay? or does he not pay?'

"'It depends. It is not always the same; sometimes he cuts it down to half, sometimes he pretends to be dead. I send him the children; his wife, my dourra, drives them away. We live from hand to mouth; I know not how. When poverty has killed one of the little ones, he reappears for the funeral. Because of the sneers of the neighbours, he decides to bring us a little food . . . the evil days begin again . . . I summon him to appear ——'

"'Enough! You talk too much,' said the judge. 'We will write out the agreement, and this time he will respect it. But as to you, do not always be lamenting.'

" ' I am his servant, at his knees ; but do not believe —— '

" ' Do you hear ? ' asked the Cadi to the man who still sat motionless as though he were deaf. She will serve you faithfully. Provide for her needs and live as formerly.'

" ' Impossible ! ' cried the obstinate man. ' She is too old ; she is like a weight upon me. Impossible ! '

" ' Then what do you propose ? '

" ' Make her renounce her arrears ; I will give her her papers at once.'

" ' Well, do you consent ? ' said the Cadi, turning again towards the woman.

" ' Oh, sir, can I sacrifice so much money ? Four pounds ! Our contract shows four pounds. I could live for several months on that amount.'

" ' Then what is the good of coming here. You want to give up neither the one nor the other. He appears to me to be absolutely obdurate. Be reasonable ; let him off half ? '

" ' Oh, my lord. I am your slave and his. But see my condition. My children are all young. Who will keep me until I marry again ? '

" ' Well ! give him one pound then ? '

" ' God is great ! I would follow your advice if I were sure he would pay the other three. But he will not pay, I know it. He is rich, a landowner, and one could more easily tear his soul out of him than —— '

" ' You are a famous babbler ! '

" ' I am your slave, my lord, but know well —— '

" ' Enough ! You are not the only one I have to attend to here.'

" And turning to the impassive peasant, the judge said quickly, ' Let us get it finished ; give her her certificate of divorce and the three pounds, since she will accept them.'

" ' I am willing. But when I have paid three pounds English, will that be the end of it ? Will she be responsible for the children ? She will not ask anything more ? Never ? '

" ' That is another question. You must always send

her enough to keep the children, the two little ones at least, if you prefer to take the two big ones with you.'

" ' No, no, I refuse. It is too heavy. Too much trouble, and too much expense. I refuse.'

" ' Don't talk so much. Is she your wife ? Are they your children ? '

" ' Yes, but I do not want —— '

" ' Whether you want to or not, there they are, and you have duties toward them. Get up. Go outside the room and reflect ; you can tell me presently upon what you have decided.'

" The peasant, straight as a tree trunk, arose without pushing back his chair, and turned about mechanically. His blind hand met the shoulder of the small boy, who, having witnessed the discords of his parents since his birth, attached neither interest nor importance to the supreme discussion of this day, and came mechanically to place himself beside the blind man to guide him . . .

" . . . The blind peasant and his wife have returned. Before addressing them the judge wished to finish with the young couple before him. Then turning to the couple of peasants before him, he said without impatience, ' Well, what have you decided ? '

" ' It is finished. Here is her paper. Here is her money—two pounds and a half. She consented to that amount.'

" ' Perforce ! my lord,' wailed the woman, ' Perforce ! Now we must fix the amount for the children's keep.'

" ' I will take the big ones,' said the man, to fix it precisely ; ' there only remains this little chap for her.'

" ' And the one that is coming ? ' said the unhappy woman.

" ' It has not yet arrived. We will see about that afterwards.' "

Nevertheless, it was agreed upon for ten francs a month for the present and twenty francs when the baby was born. She owed this last point to the insistence of the Cadi.

" ' Thank you very much,' said she on leaving. ' God keep you, my lord. But if he does not pay regularly, with what shall we get food ? With what, my lord ? ' "

Another scene that bears upon it all the marks of a keen eye-witness who has the gift of putting down what she sees in most graphic terms, is that of the *Zar*, the practice of which in this instance, as in so many, precipitates the death of the young girl Nazlî, daughter of another of Mûsa's wives, but whose affectionate and intellectual relationships with Ferîda were far more like that of mother and child. We can only give the briefest of extracts :

" . . . The following day, in spite of Zénifère's entreaties, Nazlî refused to go down. They went on without her and proceeded with the ritual purification of the victims. These passed alive over the brazier, from the coarse hands of a servant to the more claw-like ones of the ' gûdia ' (leading exorcist), who threw them in heaps behind her, muttering hoarse words with her thick lips. The sacrifice of the sheep and buffaloes was reserved for the last day of the ceremony ; they only cut the throats of the rabbits and the fowls over a large copper bowl, from which three large negresses kept the crowd back. The drums rattled louder than the cries of animals. The inner organs of these poor neurotics squirmed as they heard these cries, and they ground their teeth and rolled their eyes. With strained necks and limbs shaking with spasms, nearly ready to cry and to bite, they drew in through their palpitating nostrils the heavy smell of smoking blood, which gushed out under the black hands of the priestess. Some of them, unable to keep up any longer, fell forward in a heap and began beating their foreheads on the flagstones. When the last dove fell behind the ' gûdia ' on the pile of feathers and fur all mingled in death, the guardians of the blood scattered, and the disordered crowd hurled themselves on the vessel. With howls and yells, the women, usually quiet and gentle, contended for the bleeding things, smearing their faces and clothes with them. Then suddenly their exaltation subsided, and those who had tiny children with them carefully crushed a little piece of em-purpled flesh on the hair of their little ones.

" The third day Nazlî was carried down, in spite of herself, to the lower room, and also her clothing and bed

linen for the final exorcism . . . An insurmountable disgust aggravated her discomfort, and for an instant she closed her eyes. When she opened them again she saw, approaching her, be-ribboned sheep and flower-garlanded buffalo calves, driven on by staggering women. Knife in hand the 'gûdia' waited; and a little to the left, in the path of the animals, stood Zénifère, her head uncovered, her black forehead band slipped crookedly across her mouth, her eye ecstatic, with inane gestures dancing the sinister step of one possessed. Nazlî shrieked, then lay back silent, her arms stretched out, her eyes fixed in horror."

Zeitoun, DORA M. SWAN.
Egypt.

"AL-MANAR" AS OPEN COURT

——:o:——

"HONOUR to whom honour," even to *Al-Manar*. This widely circulated Arabic magazine has recently rendered not a little service to Christianity. To clearly understand how this came about, we must record an incident which happened more than a year ago.

A certain Chinese Moslem Mullah wrote to Sheikh Abdullah, the literary assistant at the Nile Mission Press, in reply to the latter's statement of belief in Christ, and Mr. Rhodes, of Chefoo, in forwarding the letter, suggested that the sheikh should write a fuller confession of faith, specially adapted to the Moslems of China, but accompanied by an English translation for the assistance of the many workers to whom the original Arabic would be sent. It was found best to print the English and Arabic side by side, and a few copies of this bi-lingual leaflet were kept for use in Cairo. One was sent to the editor of *Al-Manar*, who happens to be a compatriot of Sheikh Abdullah.

In the tenth number of the seventeenth volume (Shawal, 1332, but delayed in issue) the editor reprinted the leaflet just as it stood and then added his own comments. This is rather an unusual step to take, and we thank him for the publicity given to the Sheikh's fine testimony to the claims of Christ. A translation of the article and the reply is given herewith:

"RELIGION IS GOOD ADVICE."

"My Moslem brethren, I was born and grew up a Moslem, and studied the Koran and its commentaries and other Islamic sciences at the hands of the greatest of the savants of Syria and Egypt.

"I saw that the Koran testifies to the fact that it

came to confirm the Tourat and the Injil and to preserve them (namely, from change and corruption); but when I studied the Tourat and the Injil I found that the Koran contradicts it in many parts, especially in the matter of the Atonement and the Ransom, which is the principal subject of Holy Scripture.

"Now the Koran has spoken about the Korban (offering) as existing from the time of Adam, while the *Sunna* has confirmed the Koran in the matter; and also the Great Feast ('Id-al-Azha), although all the sacrifices that were offered up in the Old Testament were naught but a type and prophecy of the True Sacrifice, Christ, Who offered Himself as a Ransom for all sinners believing in Him. Otherwise how could a dumb animal become a sacrifice for a rational being such as man, since the ransom must, at the very least, be equal to the thing ransomed, if not superior to it? Think of these things, O my brothers, for the salvation of your souls from everlasting condemnation depends upon it.

"Know that the one who writes this message to you is descended from your own prophet, and naturally grew up a Moslem. Praise be to God Who has enlightened him so that he has seen the truth clearly that the Holy Scriptures are the Word of the Living God and His only book. Neither change nor corruption has befallen it, neither can any one of the human race be saved from everlasting destruction except by the Word of God incarnate in the womb of Mary.

"I followed Him and believed in Him and was baptized into His name, leaving the religion of my fathers, my property and my friends, that I might be saved from everlasting destruction; and now I call to you and invite you in all sincerity and brotherly love to read the Word of God, putting aside all partiality and bigotry since religion is a matter for personal reasoning and acceptance, not a matter of heritage from our fathers.

"May God Himself lead you into the straight path (as-Sirat al-Mustaqim) which you seek of Him many times a day.

"Now if anything in the Word of God becomes difficult for any one to understand, let him ask the people

of the Book, namely, the Christians, to whom the Scriptures have been given, and they will inform you of all you wish.

"May God Almighty guide you into the Way of Truth and Life. *Amen.*

(Signed),

"ABDULLAH ABDUL-FADY HELMY AL-HUSAINY."

The comment of the editor of *Al-Manar* was as follows:

"This epistle reached us through the post with the signature of a convert who signs himself with two names, or, rather, with one name by which he made himself the servant of two Gods, viz.: Abdullah* and Abdul-Fady.† Now, we are not going to controvert what he claims of lineage nor of what he left behind of possessions, but as for his claim to have studied the commentaries and all the Moslem sciences, it is not impossible that there is some truth in that, for many men nowadays study some of our books for a number of years without understanding anything of them. On the other hand, there may be no truth in it, and that is the more probable if he is a man of understanding, for whoever studies the Koranic commentaries and sciences of Islam could never attempt to prove a next-world ransom which the Koran itself has disproved and to deduce it from the Islamic Corban (Sacrifice), for the Koran itself has laid down in legislation the law of ransom which applies to this world only. For example, one wishes to redeem his fast which he cannot keep on account of serious affliction or old age or severe sickness, by feeding a poor man every day; and there is also a ransom for violations of the Ihram (during the pilgrimage). God Most High said, 'A ransom from fasting or almsgiving or rites.' Also, the ransom of a captive, who may be ransomed by one equal to himself or by money, which plan is followed by all nations.

"As to deliverance in the next world, that can only be by sound faith and good works, as we are told in many verses of the Koran: but this cannot be by redemption,

* Servant of Allah. † Servant of the Redeemer.

and God Most High said (Table v. 39): 'Those who have disbelieved, even if they had everything in the world and as much again in order to ransom themselves from the punishment of the Day of Judgment, it would not be accepted from them, for theirs is perpetual torment.' God Most High also said about the Day of Resurrection: 'Fear the day in which one soul shall not avail another anything, nor any intercession be accepted, nor shall any ransom be taken, neither shall they be helped.' The word '*Adal* here means 'ransom,' that is, an equivalent substitute. As for the wisdom of the offering of sacrifices and other things of the same meaning in the pilgrimage rites, the idea is that of charity to the poor and equalising them with the rich in the good things of life. God Most High said: 'God will not receive their flesh or their blood, but he will accept piety from you.'

"Now he who knows these axiomatic principles of Islam can decide whether the author of this circular is either (*a*) lying in his claim that he was once a Moslem and that he studied something of Islam; or (*b*) that he studied something which he is resolving* to-day to falsify, and he wishes to deceive the unlearned Moslems, as others of his sort have done. Now he should advise himself before he gives advice to other people, and he should know that the world will never suffice him in place of the next life, where there cannot avail the redemption of any Redeemer or the intercession of any Intercessor unless one believes in Allah alone and purifies his soul by good works. 'The intercession of any Intercessor shall not avail them. Why, then, do they turn aside from the admonition?'

"Falsification has become the stock-trade of the Christian missionaries, so that any one who joins them from any motive whatsoever is not long before he learns their trade to perfection; therefore we find the owner of this letter has corrupted the 'ransom' mentioned in

* There is an interesting play upon words here, either intentional or accidental. The Sheikh used the verb *I'tamada*, which means "to be baptised." They have used another form of the word to mean "to resolve." There is something to be said for them, for they are using the word in its original meaning, whereas we Christians give it a technical use.

the Koran from its original meaning and has put it down to mean that which the Koran denied; just as he has corrupted the meaning of God's word *muhaiminan 'alaihi* (protecting it), which means that the Koran was a guardian to the previous divine Scriptures in order to display that they had been corrupted and to expose those who had corrupted them. But he has made it to mean preventing people from falsifying the Scriptures, not by showing up their falsification. Now, how could it be the preventative of the happening of a thing which had happened before it came? It is not impossible that before long he may be claiming in some other letter that the Koran proves the Trinity and denies the Unity. Do you not see that he has claimed that the very gist of the Bible—that is, the revelation, etc., which is attributed to the prophets of the Children of Israel—does not disagree with the meaning of Atonement and Redemption. This is the claim made up by those people whom he joined, which God never sent down, and it never occurred to the mind of any of the prophets nor to any of those who were contemporary with them or came after them. We have already shown the origin and source of this, so there is no need to repeat it here.

"More wonderful than all this is that a man of this sort can quote the words, 'Religion comes by reasoning!' How extraordinary is the fall of some people!"

Nile Mission Press, ARTHUR T. UPSON.
Cairo.

THE OLD TURK POLICY OF THE NEW TURK

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The Orient of the 23rd December, 1914, under the heading of "New Law regarding Foreign Schools," contains *inter alia* the following, the entire article being a translation of an official communiqué sent out to the Vilayet of Constantinople, and published in the local dailies:

". . . An ordinance has been elaborated concerning the formalities which are to be applied to foreign religious, educational, and benevolent establishments, schools, and hospitals. . . . Religious knowledge and history, and the teaching of the creed of the denomination to which the school belongs, shall not be given to the pupils who do not profess this religion. Nor must such pupils be made to attend prayers. . . ."

This provision of the new law is a clear and bold infringement of the law of religious liberty. The fact has only to be kept in mind that, on the one hand, no one of these foreign educational, benevolent, or religious institutions ever hides its intention to impart religious instruction according to its own creed, and, on the other hand, that attendance at these institutions is absolutely voluntary on the part of those patronising them, not even any law of necessity forcing them to it, and it will be at once seen that this law simply means religious intolerance. For, put into direct language, the provision enforces nothing less than this: "We forbid you foreigners to use as one of your methods for imparting religious instruction the establishment of any institution of the character above indicated." That is to say, if a foreign mission opens a school, and that school is attended by Turks, Gregorians, Orthodox, Jews, or others, it must

leave these where it found them in regard to the truths of salvation. If it opens an orphanage, a dispensary, or a hospital, it must similarly be silent about Him whose love put it into their hearts and made it financially possible for them to open it, Even a Sunday school or evening classes—except for purely secular purposes—must confine instruction to pupils of the mission's own creed. What further enterprise is intended to be caught in the meshes of the words "religious establishments," it would be hard to say; but evidently Protestant Theological Seminaries could not any more welcome within their halls, as they have not unfrequently done of late in Asia Minor, deacons, priests, and others belonging to the unreformed churches.

Can and will this provision be carried out? On the supposition that there will be a Turkish government at the end of this war holding sway in what is now the Vilayet of Constantinople, there can be no doubt that the provision will be enforced, if exterior pressure does not prevent it. The communiqué opens with the statement that this new law is promulgated "as a result of the abolition, by decision of the Imperial Government, of the foreign privileges known under the name of the Capitulations." Thus evidently the Turkish intention is to get rid of the treaties binding them to grant religious liberty, not by openly denouncing these treaties, but by undermining them, in one important sphere of action, by means of this clause in the educational law which they have framed when taking into their own hands the full and uncontrolled regulation of the designated institutions. Moreover, the clause is directly in line with the well-known aspirations of the Young Turkey Party. Desirous of having all their subjects known simply as Ottomans and nothing else, they aim at closely restricting and, if possible, removing everything that would distinguish any minor section of their people from the dominant section, and, therefore, supremely restricting and if possible removing all such profession and practice of Christianity as would remind the sensitive Mohammedan that all the empire is not of his faith. Unquestionably, therefore, this provision is meant to be an

effective one, and in all probability but the forerunner of others which will similarly sweep away religious liberty in various different spheres of activity.

It will be noticed that the term "missionary" institution, which I have used for the sake of brevity, does not occur in the text of the communiqué. The provision applies to all institutions alike, whether those which never had any connection with a missionary body, or those which once had but have not now. Also, the wording of the provision is so wide and inclusive as to reach, not only to schools and hospitals, but to educational and benevolent establishments, amongst which must be reckoned the various colleges established in the Vilayet. In this connection some interesting reflections are suggested. On the occasion of the inauguration of the splendid new buildings in which the American College for Girls at Constantinople took up its abode last June, the President embraced the opportunity to say, in her speech before the great audience assembled, that the Faculty took pleasure in the thought that in that College every student was left undisturbed in the religion which she professed: all were taught to live together in love, respecting one another's nationality and faith. One would have thought that for a College, which, though not now a missionary institution, yet known as a Christian College and supported by the gifts of Christians, that was a sufficiently broad platform. And from the honour conferred upon the President on that occasion by the Sultan, and the words of profound appreciation and gratitude expressed (as they had also been expressed on other occasions) by high-placed officials and other prominent Turks, one would have concluded that the platform was recognised as sufficiently broad by the Government itself and by Mohammedans in general. But the truth has been far otherwise. Whether it is that the voluntary adoption of this broad platform by the college in question has led the Turks to believe that it and the other colleges may be compelled to accept a still broader one, or simply that the Turks, like so many others here in the East, while highly approving the fruits of Western morals, culture, and civilisation, object to

their growing in their midst on a professedly Christian tree, the fact remains that by this provision the Turks take from that college (and, of course, from the others also) the little left that was relied on for exercising the right influence. All non-Protestants are henceforth shut off from receiving religious instruction, or even attending any religious service, in these colleges, except at the hand of teachers of their own faith. Apparently Young Turkey realises that Mohammedanism must be sheltered, nursed, hedged about by an impenetrable fence against Christianity even in its most colourless and non-aggressive presentation. And what is true of Mohammedanism is true of all other faiths found in the empire: each is to be left, so far as regards the class of institutions mentioned, undisturbed.

In view of this new law, missionary societies and other bodies having institutions of these kinds in the Turkish empire would seem now to be obliged to choose between three courses of action—either quietly to accept the law and allow their schools to become practically secularised, or else give up their schools and spend their money on directly evangelistic work, or else to seek through diplomatic action to have this restrictive provision modified in conformity with the principles of religious liberty.

If diplomatic action is to be resorted to, Great Britain and France are for the present incapable of doing anything. Germany, which is least affected by the law, would certainly refuse to embarrass her Mohammedan ally by raising a question of this character at present. The United States, whose interests in the matter are by far the largest, is the only Power whose hands are free. Is that Government to be asked to interfere, and will it interfere? or must those working in the Turkish empire make their choice between one of the two remaining alternatives?

ROBERT THOMSON.

Samakov, Bulgaria.

THE MOSLEMS OF PALESTINE AND THE WAR

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MISSIONARIES who elected to remain in Palestine during the three months which elapsed between the outbreak of the European War and the entrance of Turkey into the arena, were able to feel a slow but certain progressive change of attitude of the Moslem inhabitants towards their Christian fellow subjects. Under normal conditions these two sections of the population live together on friendly terms; the differences in religion do not intrude to any marked extent upon the ordinary relationships of townsmen. Indeed, many villages throughout the land are populated by "fellaheen" of both sections of belief, who work side by side and conduct their affairs frequently in partnership, and when necessary combine to defend the rights of their agricultural lands. Thus Cana of Galilee, with a population of less than one thousand, includes Moslems and Christians of the Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic and Latin Churches, who trade freely with each other and mix socially. Not long ago these villagers combined to resist the intrusion of enterprising Jews from an adjacent colony, who attempted to obtain certain fields in the vicinity by illegal means. There can be no doubt that recent endeavours on the part of Jewish capitalists to obtain fertile parts of the country at the expense of the inhabitants have lessened the separation between the Moslem and the Christian.

Doubtless centres of fanaticism do exist all over the land; but these are generally hamlets inhabited entirely by Moslems, and of such a size and situation that the business affairs can be profitably conducted without outside help. Under such circumstances all the dis-

advantages of insularity have full play, and result in false conceptions of Christian life and teaching. One finds in such spots that the opposition to all things Christian is the result of complete ignorance of the outside world and is not caused by any intelligent belief in the doctrines of their Faith. The teacher of the village school may be a zealot with reasons for his opinions, who will enter into any discussion with vigour; but the others are ignorant of all but what pertains to their crops and herds. In such communities, missionary work of an institutional kind has been impossible owing to government regulations, which forbid the opening of a church or school where Christian teaching will be given, unless a section of the population is already Christian. Consequently education has been exclusively of the conservative character associated with Islam; and the occasional visits of the medical missionary have been the only opportunities of propagating the Gospel.

Until the month of September, this channel remained open in Palestine; but after that date there was a distinct change in the attitude of Moslem towards Christian, which made intercourse more difficult. Until about the end of August, the people of Galilee seemed to take only a superficial interest in the European war. Probably it did not occur to the minds of the vast majority that a conflict so far away could ever involve them in its grip. The discomforts of mobilisation were explained by the government as merely precautionary measures, such as all nations were then adopting for their safety. Restriction of trade and scarcity of money were natural results of the dislocation of commerce throughout the world. In fact, the unhappy situation in which the country found itself in August was considered as temporary; and the people settled down to bear the misfortune with Eastern patience. Moslem, Christian and Jew suffered hardship together, and losses in common of animals, grain and actual cash through increasing taxation, seemed to form a bond of friendship between the several religious communities.

As the days passed, the dissemination of the facts of the actual causes of the Great War raised a wave of

sympathy with the Allies in their fight against barefaced repudiation of signed treaties; and shortly afterwards signs of a widespread scheme to influence the Mohammedan population towards active participation in war was to be found throughout the length and breadth of Palestine. Beyond all shadow of doubt the entire resources of Germany were marshalled to achieve this end, and the nature of the means employed was such as can only be termed despicable. The certainty that all members of the Christian communities would continue to sympathise with the cause of the Entente Powers led Germany to employ all her arts in the endeavour to raise a spirit of Holy War. This inevitably meant the fostering of opposition to Christian missions and to the sections of the native population which belong to one or other of the Churches established in the country.

The change resulting was quickly felt by those of us who still remained in charge of our mission stations. One cannot be surprised at the lessened friendliness shown by families which for many years had been on the best of terms with us, when the nature of the falsehoods circulated is understood. According to German announcements to the inhabitants of the coast towns, Britain was preparing to destroy all Moslems and their property by naval fire. To avoid the unspeakable atrocities, which, they stated, would accompany the landing of a British force, the German families moved to their inland colonies. This led to the evacuation of Acre by the Moslems, who fled to the villages on the hills. Every idea which appealed to religious fanaticism was urged upon prominent Moslem families and leaders of Arab tribes. Reports of the wholesale conversion of Germans, even including the highest in rank, to Islam, were allowed to remain uncontradicted. Indeed, it became clear that the German policy was to influence the Moslems of Syria and Palestine towards war, not as Ottomans, by the promise of support to the perpetuity of Turkish government in the land, which indeed would have raised no enthusiasm, but as followers of the Prophet, who would drive the infidel from Egypt.

Under the circumstances, it is no surprise that the

autumn months were full of difficulties to the missionary ; and most of the British Societies recalled their agents in early September. Even where schools re-opened at the beginning of the session the conditions were against success, and the arbitrary abolition of the Capitulations which, above all, were safeguards of modern education in the country, threatened to bind all charitable effort with impossible legislation. Medical mission work as such was least interfered with ; but the alteration in the status quickly affected the position of every foreign institution in the eyes of the local officials, and removed the sense of security against unfair demands. The daily orders which reached each centre of government from Constantinople proved that the leaders of the Young Turk party were aiming at a rapid development of Nationalism of a most conservative kind. Probably it was a movement not aggressively Moslem, for the claims of the Jews and the Christians were not ignored ; in this the official policy seemed at variance with the actions of the German agents.

The above indicates the general conditions of life in Palestine while Turkey was yet nominally at peace with the world and while she was continually affirming her intention to maintain her neutrality. The first week of November saw the opening of hostilities against Britain, France and Russia, and the immediate closing and confiscation of the many schools and hospitals belonging to subjects of these powers. The internment of women, clergymen, and doctors, against all the accepted usages of war, is unforgetable. The treatment of many of these, including some who had given their best years to the service of the people of Turkey, when that nation was unable to cope with the needs of her poorest subjects, will remain prominent in the eyes of the civilised world as the acme of ingratitude.

What will be the future of missions in Turkey ? Such a subject is so intimately bound up with the terms of settlement of the war that present discussion is of little value. It is certain that a conclusion which leaves Turkey strengthened nationally by victory will also end Christian missionary enterprise within her boundaries.

Probably no law of prohibition would be formulated, for many neutral nations have large mission interests in various parts of the Ottoman Empire; but the same result would be accomplished by crushing restrictions and impossible requirements forced upon all foreign institutions from time to time. The only hope of freedom in evangelism for European and American missionary agencies lies in the complete subjection of Turkey and the granting of religious liberty to her people. Given certain freedom from disability connected with religious belief, and we believe that the sowing of many years will quickly come to harvest. In no region of the globe has so much activity been expended during the last half century; but nowhere have the same disadvantages and reasons for discouragement existed. The temporal powers in Palestine have been adverse to the growth of Christianity, and the factor of government is one which counts for much in Eastern lands where missionary effort is concerned. Thus I consider that the future success of evangelistic work in the Ottoman Empire, as far as human effort is reckoned, lies bound up with the results of the War. The victory of the Allies will be the conquest of evil by the powers of good.

Nazareth. F. J. SCRIMGEOUR.

NOTES ON CURRENT TOPICS

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Central Turkey in War Time.

The following extract from a letter written by a missionary in Aintab, shows the effect of the war on Turkey.

" The city is in misery ; no work and no prospect of any. The looms are idle, and more than 10,000 men are out of work and come begging for food for their starving families. Here is a sample : a woman with a blind husband and three small children, after three days without any food at all, begged a little flour, rubbed it up with water, and they ate it so.

" Thousands of soldiers have gone from here ; all the men up to thirty and some older. The last to go had no arms or equipment, but went in their thin and loose cotton clothes, with sticks as arms. They were most pitiable, so hopeless and wretched. They get no pay and only the barest subsistence. The wailing of the wives and the crying of the children was just too sad. Even the Turks say, " Whoever is going to be our Sahib, O God, send him soon." The government has seized everything—coal, kerosene, wheat, flocks, horses, camels. The call to a Holy War falls on deaf ears.

" We are trying to economize : burn candles, as oil is not to be had, except in small quantities and at a high price ; and even candles are becoming hard to get, as coal and matches are going up to a forbidding price. We have the simplest meals, sit together to save fuel, eat little meat, and buy no clothing or other ' luxuries.' But with all this misery there is much spiritual interest. Churches are crowded, prayer meetings full (250 to 300 women in some) and very touching. Christian workers are finding a great opportunity, and it seems like the beginning of a revival."

A Moslem Prayer for Peace.

In the *Islamic Review* for January, 1915, we find the following prayer for peace among Moslems :

" O God, we pray for Thy Almighty protection and assistance in our present struggle for freedom and honour.

May we continue to tread with confidence the difficult and thorny path—directed by Thee alone—and may we endeavour to learn the lesson Thou hast set before us with humility and patience, and with the full assurance that Thy All-Merciful care will ultimately guide our feet into the way of peace.

Following in the footsteps of Thy Holy Prophets, may we endeavour to forgive our cruel enemies, but, mindful of the teachings and example of the Holy Prophet Mohammed, may we be firm in the suppression of all that is unjust, unmanly and cruel.

We also pray that Thou wilt direct and govern the heart of the newly-appointed Ruler of Egypt and strengthen him in all Islamic virtues. *Amen.*"

A Child's Prayer in Turkey.

As the Allied fleet is hammering its way towards the city of Constantine, no doubt many a prayer is ascending to Allah to save the Turkish people and State. We find in the *Tanine* (Constantinople, January 30th) the following touching appeal. It was translated for "The Literary Digest" by Dr. George F. Herrick.

"It is morning, see
Great and small
The people long for Thee,
O God on high.

The army fights
On mountains cold,
To save our homes,
O God on high.

The country is Thine,
The Caliphate is Thine,
This nation is thine,
O God on high.

Love Thy people,
Love Thy state,
Love Thy nation,
O God on high.

Save the fatherland,
Save the Sultan,
Save every soul,
O God on high.

Pity my mother,
Pity my father,
Pity my sorrow,
O God on high."

Missionary Service in the Crimean War.

At the present time, when missions to the Near East are necessarily involved in so much relief work, it is interesting to recall the service of missions during the Crimean War, and how large a part the commonplace business of washing and baking played in the scheme for launching the Bible Lands' Missions' Aid Society. In the report of the Diamond Jubilee celebration of the Society we read:

"Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, an American missionary at Constantinople, conceived the idea of baking bread for the hospital, for which purpose he employed Armenian refugees then crowding the city. The fresh bread was a great success, and the commissariat officers begged Dr. Hamlin to supply the troops; hence a huge business was done. While this was progressing, Miss Florence Nightingale complained bitterly of the lack of clean linen for the hospitals and inmates. The sick and wounded were compelled to wear dirty, verminous and often blood-soaked underclothes. Again Dr. Hamlin came to the rescue. Buying a large number of empty barrels, he improvised washing machines. In these ways Dr. Hamlin found employment for hundreds of Armenians.

Meanwhile, the Rev. Cuthbert Young, a Scottish Presbyterian, had been travelling through Egypt and Syria, and was much impressed by the extraordinary work of God he had seen at the stations of the American Missions. He visited Dr. Hamlin at Constantinople, and took a lively interest in the work there. By this time the war was closing, and Dr. Hamlin could find no more work for the bakers, washerwomen and the allied workers; thus, while Mr. Young was planning to help spiritual work, Dr. Hamlin was evolving a scheme of industrial missionary enterprise, which spurred Mr. Young to greater activity. With the firm conviction that the Armenian race was the open door through which to enter Turkey, Mr. Young broached the subject of an English society to aid with money and not with men." He forthwith returned to England, and the foundation of the B.L.M.A.S was the result.

The Mohammedan Jihad.

A most interesting paper on this subject appeared in the February number of the *Quarterly Register*, the organ of the Alliance of the Reformed Churches, by Sir Andrew Fraser, K.C.S.I. Coming from one who has had long experience among Moslems in India, his words have special weight. We quote some telling paragraphs:

" It is not my present purpose to denounce the doctrine of the Jihad, but merely to consider what it really means, and what is its object. Muhammad knew a great deal more about Moses than he did about the Lord Jesus. It has been said—and no one can question the truth of the statement—that Muhammad took Moses as his pattern. Now the teaching of Moses on this subject is clear. The Israelites were bound to destroy idolaters; and the reason assigned for this obligation was that such destruction was necessary for the preservation of the Israelites in the profession and practice of their own faith. One passage from the Pentateuch is enough to show clearly what was the nature of the obligation. " When the Lord thy God shall bring thee into the land whither thou goest to possess it . . . thou shalt consume all the peoples which the Lord thy God shall deliver unto thee; thine eye shall not pity them; neither shalt thou serve their Gods; for that will be a snare unto thee " (Deut., chap. 7).

Here we have three principal thoughts. In the first place, the land is that which the Israelites were going up to possess, ' the land which the Lord had sworn unto their fathers to give them.' In the second place, the peoples or nations were to be consumed: there is no thought of converting or proselytising them; for ' the Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people unto Himself.' In the third place, the necessity for the destruction of these peoples is, here and elsewhere, explained to arise from the fact that their existence in the land alongside of Israel would be a continual temptation to idolatry.

Now the first and third of these thoughts were present to Muhammad, and formed the basis of his teaching regarding war against infidels. But he modified the second thought very materially. Take, for example, the following extracts from the ' Surat-ul-Baqr ': ' Fight for the religion of God against those who fight against you . . . and kill them wherever ye find them . . . for temptation to idolatry is more grievous than slaughter . . . But if they desist ' (*i.e.*, from idolatry), ' God is gracious and merciful. Fight, therefore, against them until there be no temptation to idolatry, and the religion be God's; but if they desist, then let there be no hostility.' There is the

same command to slay the idolater because he cannot be permitted to live alongside of the faithful as a temptation and snare. But conversion obviated the necessity for slaughter; because the faithful were not, in this case, a peculiar people, but of the same blood as the Arabs round about them. . . ."

"Earlier in the very same Surat an apparently very different command is given. The adversaries of Islam are not to be slaughtered. The command is, 'Forgive them and avoid them, till God shall send His command; for God is omnipotent.' Such a passage as this constitutes the ground for holding that the duty of attacking and killing infidels only arises when a 'Jihad' has been proclaimed. The historical explanation of the difference between the earlier and later passages is apparently this, that when Muhammad was a simple preacher with a small following, he did not advocate the establishment of his religion by the sword. But later, he found himself able to take a stronger position; idolatry must be overthrown, and his followers preserved from the danger of corruption. In all this, however, he seems to have only contemplated the propagation of Islam in Arabia. Logically, perhaps, his principles may be of world-wide application; but there is no ground to believe that he desired to see them carried out beyond the borders of his own land.

When we judge the teaching of Muhammad on this subject, we must bear in mind that he was following the example of Moses, and aiming for Arabia at what that prophet had aimed at for the land of promise, to secure that it should be inhabited by a people professing only the faith he taught. Nor must we forget that, long after the Gospel of the Christ had inculcated a very different spirit and practice, Christian rulers and peoples acted with an intolerance not less than his, adopting force and violence in the propagation of their faith. Without judging, however, let the fact be stated that the Koran authorises the slaughter of infidels as such, and makes it a heinous sin to refuse to join in a war for their extermination, when God sends His command for such a war. The Sheikh-ul-Islam, in the name of God, has issued the command.

This promulgation of the command is an anachronism. The enlightened Muslim world has ceased to believe in the arbitrament of the sword in matters of faith. Much mischief might have been done, and may yet be done, among the grossly ignorant and barbarous of those who profess Islam. For no one can tell how a command, however unreasonable and wicked, professing to be based on a sacred text, may influence ignorant fanatics. But the mere circumstances in which this command has issued make it impossible for an enlightened, though orthodox, Muslim to receive it."

The Moslem Hell and the Punjab Jail.

When Mohammedans seek to find proof that the Koran is a Divine revelation, their arguments are often ridiculous. In the *Review of Religions* (January number), Maulvi Ghulam Mohammed Khan, B.A., writes:

"While studying the 'Punjab Jail Manual' and its diverse chapters on the 19th of January, 1915, my attention was suddenly drawn to the description of hell in the Holy Quran, specially to that portion of Sura lxxiv., where it is said, 'We will soon send him to Hell, and dost thou know what Hell is? . . . There are nineteen guardians over it.' This description, particularly the last verse, viz.: 'there are nineteen guardians over it,' has been disturbing the mind of many a reader,

because human nature is generally very inquisitive and any number of Hell guardians might have aroused his curiosity, specially nineteen, which is odd among the odds. As this verse had excited my curiosity many a time, when I came to the Chapter VI. of the 'Jail Manual' styled 'Jail Officers,' in order to satisfy my own whim, I began to count the Jail Officers, one by one, and to my great satisfaction found that the number exactly came up to odd nineteen, neither more nor less."

He then mentions these jail officers, including a female warder, a medical officer, and a compounder, and ends up by saying : " All this led to the revelation of the mystery hidden under the verse, which I never fail to communicate to my Muhammadan brethren who may be fond of studying the Holy Quran with deep deliberation and keen insight in these days of apathy and disregard."

Great Britain the Defender of the Kaaba.

The editor of the *Review of Religions* finds a confirmation of the Surah of the Elephant in the recent promise of Great Britain to defend the holy places in Arabia against attack. In a long article on the subject he shows how miraculously Mecca was defended in the past, and then says : " But the God of the Kaaba, who in His Holy Book has made a promise for its protection against all invaders, has on this occasion moved the Ministers of one of these Christian powers to make the solemn promise at the very outbreak of the war that not only they themselves would refrain from attacking the holy places of Muslims, but that they would protect them against every invader. If ever any statesman spoke under divine inspiration it was the Premier of Great Britain, who made the above declaration. While thanking him for this announcement of his, we assure him that if ever Great Britain be called upon to fight any invader of the holy city of Mecca, God will be with Great Britain, and will fight the enemy as He fought the forces of Abraha in the year of the Holy Prophet's birth. If ever any enemy thinks of violating the sanctity of the holy city of Mecca, the story of Abraha will once more be repeated, and he will meet with a fate similar to that with which the forces of Abraha met in the valleys of Arabia, for God is the protector of Kaaba, and He has power to annihilate whole armies in the twinkling of an eye. God has promised to preserve the sanctity of Kaaba, and He has ample power to keep His promise."

Pilgrims to Mecca in 1914.

From *Men and Missions* for February, 1915, we learn that " the yearly pilgrimage to Mecca, as reported by the Turkish government, numbered about 84,000 pilgrims. One hundred and ninety-eight vessels were engaged in carrying the pilgrims, and of these 134 were under the British flag, 22 Russian, 13 Dutch and 29 Ottoman. About 40,000 of the pilgrims came from the Far East, India, Malaysia, Sumatra, Java and Japan. From Russia there were over 10,000, while from points on the Mediterranean only 6,471."

Bible Readers in China.

That there is a deepening interest among the Mohammedans of China in Christianity is evident on every hand. Correspondents, both in West China and in the province of Fuking, report that they are eager to purchase the Scriptures and secure Christian literature. Some of

their replies to this literature are in Arabic, and their objections are in turn answered by a converted sheikh in Cairo. Mrs. O. Burgess writes in *China's Millions* that her husband "gets good crowds in the hall, and has noticed numbers of Moslems lately listening very well." She mentions that in Hinganfu there is a new Moslem sect, which advocates the reading of the Bible. One gentleman told Mr. Burgess that the priest had exhorted the followers of this faith to read Christian books, as Jesus had and still has wonderful power, and is coming again for His people. Mrs. Burgess adds: "This is quite a new development, and we pray that many who read may learn to love and serve our Lord."

Bengali Literature for Moslems.

Steps are being taken to translate the new edition of "Mizan ul Haqq" into Bengali, and it will interest those who study literature for Moslems to examine the list of other publications in Bengali. (See *News and Notes*, Missionaries to Muslims League, February, 1915). The list is not large, but includes books on the Koran, on Mohammed, and the Life of Jesus Christ, Sweet First Fruits, and especially the Bengali Koran with notes and Arabic text. All these may be obtained from Rev. William Goldsack, Christian Literature Soeiety for India, 46 Dharmatallah Street, Calcutta.

The Status of Woman in Christianity.

The Review of Religions in an article on this subject, tries to use the *tu quoque* argument, showing that Christianity has degraded rather than raised the status of woman, and that the women of pagan Europe had more rights under the Roman and Greek systems than a Christian woman has now. After quoting a passage from St. Augustine and another from St. Ambrose regarding the creation of woman, he finds his chief argument why women should cover their heads, in a sermon by the Vicar of Crantock in 1905:

(*a*) Man's priority of creation. Adam was first formed, then Eve.
(*b*) The manner of creation. The man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man.
(*c*) The purport of creation. The man was not created for the woman, but the woman for the man.
(*d*) Results in creation. The man is the image of the glory of God, but woman is the glory of man.
(*e*) Woman's priority in the Fall. Adam was not deceived; but the woman, being deceived, was in the transgression.
(*f*) The marriage relation. As the Church is subject to Christ, so let the wives be to their husbands.
(*g*) The headship of man and woman. The head of every man is Christ, but the head of the woman is man.

The above arguments conclusively establish the attitude of Christianity towards woman.

A Plea for the Education of Girls in Egypt.

A correspondent wrote to the editor of *Al-Ahaly* to ask his advice on the education of his daughter who had received the primary certificate. He wanted to know what to do with her, whether to send her again to school to complete her education, or to keep her at home, satisfying himself with the education she had already received.

In reply to this, a reader wrote to advise the father of the young

lady to keep his daughter at home and teach her, besides looking after the house, the principles of the Moslem religion. Dame Fatma Hassan now writes *Al-Ahaly* to express an opinion entirely different from this writer. She reminds the readers that English and American women have attained their present position only by education, while the ignorance of woman in Egypt has made her a despised being of no interest, a mere object, a slave of whom man can dispose as he pleases. A woman is now refused education on the plea that it corrupts her character and makes of her an unchaste woman, thus admitting tacitly that ignorance is the cause of the present chastity of native women. She recommends high education not unmixed with religious instruction as the best means to elevate the Moslem woman in Egypt, in fact to elevate the whole of society. The woman forms the character of the nation and gives it great men all the world over. But which woman, asks the writer, the educated or the ignorant ? Primary education has spread in the country and yet the native woman remains as she was. The reason is that this education is superficial ; what is wanted, therefore, is a higher education, and she is of opinion that a congress should meet to decide on the studies to be pursued.

In conclusion, she recommends the father of the young lady in question not to listen to what members of the backward party recommend, and to send his daughter to the School of Medicine or to the Girls' Training College, so that she will be a useful member of society, to be a woman in the true sense of the word, not what she is at present, a woman in name and an animal in fact.

Islam in British East Africa.

A well-informed correspondent writes in criticism of our recent statistical survey as far as it regards British East Africa, and makes some interesting observations regarding the spread of Islam and the secret of its power.

" My object in writing is to criticise the statistics you give of Mohammedans in British East Africa and Nyasaland, both of which countries I know fairly well. As you know, it is very difficult to draw the line. Your figure for Nyasaland would include all who claim to be Mohammedans. A similar figure for Christianity would be about 200,000. I should think Mohammedans 30,000 and Christians 80,000 would be truer. In most parts of Nyasaland Islam is declining—in many rapidly. I have seen three of its four chief centres. In only one are the children being taught, and there only a small minority of them. Propaganda there is none except around Zomba. The community is growing poorer, and is rapidly losing the characteristic pride of a true Moslem people.

" In British East Africa your figure is far too high. Half your number would include all who claim to be Mohammedans. There, on the other hand, it is spreading in spite of the almost universal absence of preaching and schools. The spread is due partly to missions being weak and, most of them, ill managed. But I believe it is mainly due to race feeling. The real reason Islam attracts is that it is a bond in which all Africans may share. Christianity provides no such bond. If our social system were really open to such Africans as wished to share it, Islam would die in these two countries. In British East Africa it is in a subconscious way unpatriotic to be a Christian. With the breaking down of the old life the native, without knowing it, seeks for new ties. In British East Africa he increasingly finds them in Islam,

in Nyasaland in a native church. In British East Africa Islam means the very minimum—less than in Nyasaland. But it is a way of life easy to enter and gives natives a new solidarity. I believe the social and political consequences will be of great importance. In fact, the phenomena are economic and social. The peculiarly attenuated religion is the consequence of these other changes. Unless policy soon greatly changes, British East Africa will give Britain as much trouble as South Africa has given.

"In Nyasaland, missions and their culture count for more than trade and its economic changes, and for more than government and its political change. In British East Africa the material circumstances of life, the restriction of reserves, the pressure put on tribes to leave home to work for wages—these, and not new knowledge, are creating a new world."

The Spread of Islam in Ashanti.

Writing on this subject in *The Foreign Field* for April, Rev. J. Delaney Russell says :

"Mohammedanism is getting an increasing hold upon the people in Western Africa. It makes a very strong appeal to the negro because its demands are not very exacting. It gives to him a certain standing, for the Muhammadan is, unfortunately, made more of than the native Christian by many European officials in West Africa. Islam winks at sins, and polygamy and even indulgence in strong drink are common among its professors. The number of Muslims in this part is increasing rapidly. Three years ago there were only two mosques in Kumassi ; now there are five. The *zongo* (Muhammadan quarter of the town) is now the larger part of the town. Every little village is being permeated by the teaching of Islam ; in nearly every chief's house you may find an extract from the Koran hanging side by side with his pagan fetiches as an additional charm against the Evil One. . . .

"From all accounts Muhammadanism must have a strong hold over the people in some parts of the hinterland. A little while ago I built some teachers' houses, and all the labourers engaged came from the Northern Territories. There are representatives of five different tribes from widely separated districts, and they all profess Muhammadanism, and, what is more, they learned it in their own country. A short time ago the Government had to remove two Muhammadan missionaries from the Northern Territories for fear of political difficulties."

French Policy in Algeria.

According to *The Sunday School Times*, January, 1915, "The French authorities are finally realising that the chief obstacle to progress in North Africa is the immobility of Islam. Hence they are now encouraging the establishment of missionary enterprises in North Africa, according to the 1914 Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society. This changed sentiment is voiced in a recent debate in the French Chamber and in five volumes in French that have appeared within a twelvemonth.

"'They declare that the assimilation of the Moslem tribes into the French commonwealth, once dreamed of, is now impossible of realisation. They emphatically affirm that Islam is incompatible with modern civilisation, because the Koran produces a mentality which does not admit of progress, but finds its most natural expression in the

debasement of woman, the enslavement of the intellect, and the paralysis of the moral nature.'

"Believing in that statement, the Bible Society last year put into circulation 33,719 copies of the Scripture, the very best antidote to the Koran. Attacks upon it are best met by Dr. Joseph Parker's laconic, deep-voiced reply when asked how to meet diatribes of this sort: 'Circulation!' It is its own best defence. Spurgeon, when asked how he would defend the Bible, replied: 'Defend it! I would as soon defend a lion. Let it out—it can defend itself!'"

Change of Spirit among Moslems in Persia.

Mr. E. T. Allen writes as follows from Urumia:

"For some time we have enjoyed considerable liberty in working for the Moslems of this region. We have visited Moslem villages and have preached in the shadow of the mosques. We have visited the tea-houses along the roads and have read, spoken and prayed with the travellers seeking rest therein. We have been received everywhere with the greatest courtesy and respect, and have always had most respectful and appreciative audiences. It is probable that never in the history of modern missions in Persia has there been so great liberty and so much advantage taken of the liberty to work for Moslems as during the past year, as far as Urumia Station is concerned. It is not our work so much to destroy Mohammed as it is to exalt the Christ. It does not seem necessary to me for us to tell these people anything about Mohammed, whether he is a sinner or not, but our calling is to present Christ as the Saviour, so far beyond comparison as not to be named in connection with Mohammed. Paul never entered into comparisons; he presented Christ only. It is as a Moslem friend of ours said to me the other day when we were talking about these things: 'The Persians never print anything against the Christ; why should you draw them and yourselves into controversy and perhaps enmity by printing against Mohammed? Print as much as you wish about Christ, and no one will complain."

Islam in Java.

We learn from our correspondent in Solo, Java, that "on January 15th there appeared the first number of *Medan Moeslimin*, a monthly devoted to the Mohammedan religion, to make it more and better known. It is printed in Javanese and Malay. In a certain sense it can be called a reaction against mission work, although it is just as much (or more ?) a reaction against the opinions of the Young Javanese, who hold that Islam hinders progress. Of course Dutch papers, which are never friendly to missions, have been very eager to put before their readers the first point—omitting the other. My husband has written to explain. One of these papers on the 9th of January told that *Medan Moeslimin* had already very many readers—and the first number only appeared on the 15th! It is printed in Solo. To give you an idea I translate the titles of the contents of No. I.:—

The Vastness of Mohammedan Science.
Kitab far'aid. (The dividing of inheritance.)
Kitab Nikah. (Marriage according to Mohammedan Law).
The Pilgrimage, with an introduction regarding the Jewish pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the Egyptian to Sais, the Hindu to Hyderabad, and also Christians to Jerusalem.

An Introduction to the Malay part.
Concerning the question: Does Islam hinder Progress?
Christian relief for the poor and suffering. (They thank the Christians for their help, and say that Islam also has the same principles of charity).
An explanation of the Mohammedan religion.

"Evidently the paper is financed for the present by some rich Mohammedans. The price is only two shillings. We could not obtain information as to the number of subscribers.

"In regard to Dr. Snouck Hurgronje's journey to America, the *Darma Kondo* told its readers that Dr. Hurgronje (whom the Javanese hold to be a Mohammedan) had gone to America to give lectures on Islam and to debate with Christians as to the truth of the two religions, and that whoever won the debate would embrace the religion of the other! Exactly the Javanese view as described by Dr. Gunning on page 65 of the January number of THE MOSLEM WORLD."

Arabic Science in England in the Twelfth Century.

To *The English Historical Review* for January, 1915, Professor Chas. H. Haskins made an interesting contribution on the reception of Arabic Science in England, supported by a number of Latin quotations. We venture to give its substance to our readers.

"In the diffusion of the science of the Saracens throughout western Europe in the twelfth century," he says, "England occupies a position of considerable importance. An English scholar, Adelard of Bath, seems to have been the pioneer in this movement of study and translation, while the existence of a certain number of dated treatises of his contemporaries and successors makes it possible to follow the spread of the new learning in England with greater definiteness than has so far been attempted elsewhere. At the beginning of the century we have a group of abacists and computists who have in nowise been affected by Arabic influence; in 1120, however, the new movement begins to make itself felt in Walcher, prior of Malvern, who had possessed one element of the Arabic astronomy, the astrolabe, as early as 1092, and who now begins to utilise the teaching of a converted Spanish Jew, Petrus Alphonsi.

Of Lotharingian origin, Walcher had come to England by 1091, and at his death, in 1135, had acquired a reputation as mathematician and astronomer, which is confirmed by two treatises preserved in the Bodleian, in a manuscript of the twelfth century, in which they precede the Khorasmian tables of Adelard of Bath. The first of these, written between 1107 and 1112, is a set of lunar tables, with explanations, which comprise a cycle of seventy-six years, ending in 1112, and are calculated from an eclipse observed in 1092. He had the good fortune to observe the eclipse of October 18th, 1092, and fix it accurately by means of the astrolabe, which he mentions with the Arabic names of two of its points as something well-known to his readers. An acquaintance with this instrument had in some unknown way passed into Latin Europe in the course of the eleventh century, thus preceding considerably the arrival of Arabian philosophy as a whole. The tables of Walcher's first treatise are worked out by the clumsy methods of Roman fractions, but in the second, written in 1120, he uses the degrees, minutes, and seconds, and the more exact observations which he had learned, evidently in England, from Petrus Anfusi.

Further evidence of the astronomical labours of Petrus Anfusi is

contained in a treatise written in 1115, though not necessarily in England, and preserved in Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Here we have first a set of chronological tables of the sort usual in treatises based on the Arabic, including a concordance of eras for the year 1115, then a series of tables for the various planets, and finally an explanation of the chronological tables. The only known Petrus Anfusi, or Alphonsi, is the author of the Disciplina clericalis and the Dialogi cum Iudeo, who was baptised at Huesco in 1106 with the name of his godfather, Alphonso I. of Aragon. There is no reason why he may not have journeyed to England, and, as a matter of fact, we find in a Cambridge manuscript of the Disciplina clericalis this heading in language exactly parallel to the passage in the astronomical treatise: Dixit Petrus Amphulsus servus Christi Ihesu Henrici primi regis Anglorum medicus compositor huius libri. The statement that Peter was Henry I.'s physician I have not found corroborated, but it fits in chronologically with the dates in the astronomical writings, and it is more natural to assume identity than to suppose that there were at the same time two converted Spanish Jews of this name, both occupied with translation from Arabic.

The work, however, of Adelard of Bath remains comprehensive and fundamental alike with reference to geometry, astronomy, astrology, philosophy, and his advocacy of the experimental method, but it yields few specific dates. We know that his version of the Khorasmian tables dates from 1126, and that he was in England in 1130 and probably well on into the reign of Stephen.

Adelard's younger contemporary, variously known as Robert of Ketene, Robert Retinensis and Robert of Chester is likewise of interest. An Englishman by birth, his life is unknown to us until 1141, when, already familiar with Arabic and engaged in the pursuit of astrology, he and his associate, Hermann the Dalmatian, were discovered in the region of the Ebro by Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, who engaged them upon a translation of the Koran and upon various controversial pamphlets directed against Mohammedanism. The preface to the version of the Koran, which was completed in 1143, tells us that Robert's real interest lay in the study of geometry and astronomy, which he had interrupted for this undertaking. In the field of mathematics and natural science he has left the following works:

1. A translation of the Iudicia of al-Kindi.
2. A translation of Morienus, De compositione alchemie, completed 1144.
3. A translation of the Algebra of al-Khuwarizmi, dated Segovia, 1145.
4. A treatise on the astrolabe, dated London, 1147.
5. A set of astronomical tables for the meridian of London in 1150, based upon the tables of al-Battâni, and probably adapted from a translation of the Opus astronomicum by Robert, to which Hermann the Dalmatian refers in 1143, but which is otherwise unknown.
6. A revision, likewise for the meridian of London, of Adelard's version of the tables of al-Khuwarizmi.

How far Robert's labours were carried in the works of Euclid, Theodosius and Ptolemy, we cannot say, for we have only his statement in the preface to al-Kindi, but in his work upon the tables of al-Battâni and al-Khuwarizmi he continued worthily the tradition of Adelard of Bath, and in the field of algebra he broke new ground for Latin Europe.

The Madrid MS., which preserves Robert's revision of the Khorasmian tables, also contains various tables for the meridian of Hereford, which are obviously the work of another English astronomer of the twelfth century, Roger of Hereford. We have from him :

1. Compotus, in five books, which criticises the errors of Gerland and the Latin computists generally, and compares their reckoning with that of the Hebrews and Chaldeans.
2. Astronomical tables for the meridian of Hereford in 1178, based upon tables for Toledo and Marseilles.
3. Theorica planetarum.
4. Tractatus de ortu et occasione signorum.
5. One or more astrological works.

We do not know whether Roger of Hereford travelled in Spain, nor what were his relations with Robert of Chester.

In the case of his contemporary, Daniel of Morley, however, the dependence upon the schools of Spain is clearly indicated. Finding Paris dominated by law and pretentious ignorance, he hastened, he tells us, to Toledo, as the most famous centre of Arabic science, in order to hear the wiser philosophers of the world. One of his masters was Gerard of Cremona. Certainly the Philosophia, our sole source of information respecting Daniel, was written to explain the teaching of Toledo to Bishop John of Norwich (1175-1200) ; its astronomical chapters are based upon al-Fargani and other Arabic authorities, although its philosophy is still tinged by the Timaeus and its astrology by Firmius Maternus.

Could we but follow them, there were doubtless other Englishmen who frequented the schools of Spain at this period, and other learned Jews who visited England. For the diffusion of the Arabic astrology is well illustrated by the predictions for the year 1186, which occupy considerable space in the English chroniclers."

BOOK REVIEWS

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A History of Persia. By Lieut.-Colonel P. M. Sykes, C.M.G., C.I.E., Indian Army. With maps and illustrations: in two volumes. Macmillan and Company, London. 50*s.* net.

In our knowledge of the history of the leading nations of the East there are still many *lacunae*. Rawlinson, Maspero, Budge, Valdemar Schmidt, Elphinstone, and many others, have introduced us to the history of some of the great Oriental Monarchies of the past, have dealt with what is yet known of Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, India ancient and modern, and certain other Asiatic and African lands, and have thereby enabled ordinary men and women to learn something of the past in those countries. But there are other Eastern regions with regard to which no one has yet undertaken the great task of composing a complete account of their history, and so the student is often unable to make himself acquainted with the vicissitudes through which they have passed. He may perhaps know something of certain special periods in the long course of their history, but of the periods between his knowledge is generally vague and uncertain, and so he is not able to understand the lesson which he might otherwise learn.

Persia has long been a case in point. We all know something of her struggle to conquer Hellas, and how she fell under the rule of the far-famed Alexander of Macedon. Parthian and Sâsânian dynasties had ruled, we knew, before the Rise of Islam and the Arab Conquest of the country. We had some conception of the awful devastation wrought by the Mongols, and the names of Nâdir Shâh, Fatḥ 'Alî Shâh, and Nâṣiru'd Dîn Shâh were not unknown to us, specially in connection with Indian affairs. But few men had a consecutive acquaintance with Persian History as a whole, and those who had owed it (such as it was) to Lord Curson's excellent volumes, which, however, did not claim to be a history of the country. Sir John Malcolm, a century ago, had attempted to write a "History of Persia"; but the materials at his disposal were quite inadequate, and he was unable to distinguish between the fabulous and the real, in regard to at least the early history of the country. The Cuneiform Inscriptions had not then yielded up their secrets. Hence his work is no more reliable as a History of Persia than is Rollin's "Ancient History" in the affairs of the Ancient East.

The work which Lieut.-Colonel Sykes has now published has, in large measure, filled the gap, as far as Persia is concerned. His qualifications for the task are many. He has lived and travelled extensively in Persia for the last twenty-one years. He has striven to enter to some extent into the mind of the people, and he speaks their language and has studied their literature. His two previous

books, " Ten Thousand Miles in Persia " and " The Glory of the Shia World," shew that he has made full use of his opportunities in these matters. His political position has enabled him to come into contact with men of all races and of every class, literally " from the king to the beggar." He has been able to avail himself of the archives and the literary treasures of the India Office and the British Museum, while his personal acquaintance with Anglo-Indian and other politicians and scholars has been of very considerable assistance to him.

One very important part of the work of the writer of a genuine History of Persia must necessarily be to point out clearly and in due proportion the relations which from time to time have subsisted between that country and the neighbouring lands. But Persia's history can be traced back for some 6,000 years, to a time, in fact, when there were no " Persians " in the land at all ; and during that immense period the huge region, commonly known in the West as " Persia," has not only been inhabited by various nations and races, but it has been brought into contact with a large number of foreign Powers. Thus the historian must introduce us to Sumer and Akkad, to the great Babylonian and Assyrian, the Hittite and the Egyptian Empires, as well as to the smaller Kingdoms of Lydia, Armenia, Iberia, Pontus, and the Greek republics with their opposite and uncertain politics. He must tell us something of India and even China, of Phoenicia and the Asian Gauls, of the rise, progress and decay of the Macedonians and the Romans, and in later times it is his duty to tell us of the great deeds of the Arabs, Turks, Mongols, Afghâns, Russians, and even the English, in their relations with Persia. All these nations come and go, each greatly influencing Persia, and in turn being in some measure influenced by her, yet all the time Persia remains, at one time strong, at another weak, sometimes conquering, sometimes conquered, yet never obliterated from the map. Perchance, China alone surpasses Persia in this strangely long and eventful history.

Our author manfully undertakes this difficult task, and on the whole accomplishes it successfully. In dealing with his immense subject he is not content to treat only of battles and sieges, of invasions and foreign expeditions. Believing that the character of a nation is immensely affected by its religion, he gives as full an account as his limits permit of the faiths which from time to time have prevailed in Persia, such as that of ancient Elam, the early Aryans, the earlier and later Zoroastrians, the Muslims, and the chief sects which have split off from Islam. Holding that geography and climate are not without great influence upon the course of human history, Colonel Sykes deals fully with these subjects, too. He devotes several chapters in different parts of his work to the consideration of the art, literature, legislation, agriculture, trade, military science, and other matters which we require to know in order to understand the details of a people's history. His able and deeply interesting work is admirably provided with maps, *excellent* maps, upon which no care has been spared. The illustrations are at once numerous and excellent, ranging from photographs of Assyrian monuments and ancient coins, medals and seals, down to that of the Farmân-Farmâ, who played a part in history in the last years of the reign of Muẓaffaru'd Dîn Shâh.

This valuable History of Persia—the first at all worthy of the title—begins with the very earliest times of which we have any record, and ends with the granting of a Constitution to Persia and the death of Muẓaffaru'd Dîn Shâh in October, 1906.

On the whole, Colonel Sykes has performed his arduous task most successfully, and we doubt not that his great work will be translated into Persian. If the translation is as well done as is that of Sir John Malcolm's History, it will become a Persian classic, as it fully deserves to be, and will enable the youth of Persia to substitute the facts of their ancient history for the fables which they have learnt from the Shâhnâmah of the celebrated Firdausî.

There is, however, one defect in the book which will, we fear, mar its usefulness to some extent. That is the way in which the author not rarely refers to the Bible. For example (p. 62), he writes thus of the Epic of Gilgames, as "Containing a legend of the Deluge, from which that in Holy Writ was inspired, Gilgames himself being the Nimrod of the Book of Genesis." A historian should not make positive statements such as this on the strength of the suppositions of a system of uncritical criticism which is already losing its hold on many who were once its advocates. There is much to be urged against the assertion and little in its favour. In speaking of the Zoroastrian Faith again, he ventures to affirm that "the purity and loftiness of conception of Ahura Mazda, as preached by Zoroaster, exceeds that of Yahveh" (p. 118). In proof of this assertion he quotes the passage Deuteronomy xxxii. 41, 42, and that only. Now a piece of magnificent poetry, such as this is, should not be produced as if it were a doctrinal statement, to the total omission of such verses as "The LORD, the LORD, a God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin: and that will by no means clear the guilty" (Ex. xxxiv. 6, 7). There are many excellent things in early Zoroastrianism, but even in the Gâthas themselves Ahura Mazda is not the One God, nor is he only the recipient of Divine worship. The value set on Zoroastrianism in this book is unduly high, as is the case further on with Islam. Nor is the supposed influence of Zoroastrianism on later Biblical Judaism by any means clearly proved. When we remember that large numbers of Israelite captives were settled in "the cities of the Medes" before we have any proof of Zoroaster's existence, the probability is the other way. What is said against the Book of Daniel, in pp. 135 and 162, is quite uncalled for, and fuller study would have shewn this. A little knowledge is proverbially a dangerous thing. Had the Colonel studied his Bible and the chief religions to which he refers as carefully as he has studied his proper subject, the History of Persia, he would not have made these statements which detract from the value of his book to some extent. Nor would he have spoken of Christianity as "a religion of Jewish origin, but not without Iranian elements" (p. 420).

In the next edition of this valuable, and, in fact, indispensable, History of Persia, there are some minor errors which we hope will be corrected. To mention a few of these: the syllable "shîd" in the name *Jamshîd* does *not* mean a *king*, as is stated in Volume I., p. 142. The Avestic form of the name is *Yima Khshaêta—i.e.*, "Yima the Brilliant." Nor is the *Daric* named from Darius (since it is called *Darîku* in Assyrian), though our author seems to imply that it is (p. 174). We have never heard of the Roman Emperor "Caracal*lus*" (p. 416), though *Caracalla* is fairly well-known. Nor do Christians use the terms τὸ ὁμοούσιον and τὸ ὁμοιούσιον, though the words are used in the masculine (p. 465). The correct words differ from one another in only one letter, it is true, as Colonel Sykes points out; yet the

difference is immense in meaning, as every theologian knows. "Man" and "mad" also differ in only one little letter, yet it would not be a proof of sanity to confound them. Muslims will hardly approve of the statement in p. 438 that Muḥammad "adopted" a certain view in Sûrah iv. 156, from Mânî's teaching (p. 438), and it is doubtful whether it is correct. By the way, why does our author always use the forms "Mohamed," "Muluk-u-Tawaif," "Imad-u-din," etc., instead of the correct spelling "Muḥammad," "Mulûku-'t Tawâif," "'Imâdu-'ddîn," and so on? But these are small matters.

In conclusion, we must express once more our gratitude to Colonel Sykes for his able, scholarly, and most interesting work.

W. St. Clair Tisdall.

Abbas II. By the Earl of Cromer. 12mo; pp. 84. London: Macmillan and Company. 1915. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

The Earl of Cromer's standard work, "Modern Egypt," stands alone in recent historical literature. As someone stated in a review, "It may be supplemented; it cannot be superseded." The book before us is a supplement, and gives an account of the events following the accession of Abbas II. to the Khediviate. It is a severe indictment of his character and a justification of the British policy in deposing him. After hanging in the balance for a period of thirty-three years, the political destiny of Egypt has at last been definitely settled and the tie with Turkey severed for ever. The book consists of five chapters which deal with the accession of Abbas II., the crisis that followed in January, 1893, the subsequent events under later ministries, and a final chapter on the methods of the late Khedive. Altogether the book gives us a thumb-nail sketch rather than a full length portrait of one who is described in its last phrase as "a slight man." Abbas II. was a master of petty intrigue, wedded to tortuous courses, and incapable of straightforward action. Even when at college in Vienna, his instructors had no favourable opinion of his character. "He came to his high office in Egypt a self-willed boy of an arbitrary disposition." According to the Earl of Cromer, he took little interest in any affairs which affected the welfare of the Egyptian population. "His character was overbearing and arbitrary." He was always mindful of his personal dignity rather than of the interests of his subjects. "He thought his will, however whimsical and capricious, should invariably be law."

The reason for his influence is evident on the testimony of the Earl of Cromer. At the time of his accession the Nationalist Movement was strong and therefore "every Pasha who had been deprived of his privileges or curbed in the exercise of his ill-used power, every fanatic Moslem who cursed the Giaour in his heart, every unsuccessful place-hunter, every corrupt employé whose illicit gains had been curtailed by British control, every feather-headed young Egyptian who thought himself of equal if not of superior mental calibre to his British official superior, rallied round the foolish youth, who—probably without being fully aware of it—had raised the standard of revolt against Western civilisation." Although he was wholly ignorant of military matters, he did not hesitate to criticise the British officers in command of his army, and "out of sheer wantonness of spirit encouraged a mutiny." All through his administration he seems to have been wholly governed by his personal interests and predilections. "The Khedive's main wish in life apparently was to enrich himself by every possible means in his power"; and in doing this he did not scruple, as this work

shows, to use underhand methods and mal-administration of public trusts. The book will prove interesting reading as well for the friends as for the enemies of the late Khedive. The conclusion reached by the Earl of Cromer is that " the un-Europeanised Moslem is quite incapable of governing the Egypt of to-day. The ministerial future lies, therefore, with the Europeanised Egyptians of various types." Z.

England and the Muslim World. By SYED H. R. ABDUL MAJID. 12mo; pp. 185. York: The Yorkshire Printing Company. 1912. 5*s*.

Although this book was delayed in reaching our desk for review, it is yet of special interest now when England's national responsibility in the world of Islam is evidently increasing because of the war. Therefore it is the part of wisdom to study the views of educated Moslems themselves. The author is lecturer on Mohammedan law at the Colonial Office, and has written a number of books on legal subjects. These essays are divided into political, legal, and social. Some of them are reprints. They deal with the Balkan question, the unrest in India, the occupation of Egypt, the Ottoman Constitution, and the social aspects of Islam in the East. The longest and most valuable chapter is that on the Moslem Constitutional Theory, which contains an admirable summing up of the character of the Caliphate and the qualifications of the Caliph. The author's idea is that the latter need not necessarily be of the tribe of Koreish. The address on *Wakff* as family settlement among Mohammedans, is an able résumé and a strong plea for reform. His views on religion are wholly superficial. He states that Judaism, Christianity and Islam " are all based upon the same philosophical conceptions of the same code of morals and the same theory of consciousness. . . . After all, there is little difference between one form of belief and another so long as one's life is useful to his fellow beings and he himself is a good man." S. M. Z.

The Real Turk. By STANWOOD COBB. Pp. 301. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. $1.50.

Three years' experience on the teaching staff of Robert College does not afford a thorough basis for writing a book about the Turkish nation. Like many volumes hastily written by tourists, this volume contains too many impressions derived from superficial knowledge. So far as Christian missions are concerned, the book is quite disappointing, and in some cases misleading. On page 160 the author states that missionaries in these days do not go out to win people to the Christian faith, but that their strongest motive is humanitarian!

There are several strong and attractive features, however. Chapter II., " The Turk still a Medieval in Character, Mentality and Religion," gives a shrewd and accurate analysis of the inconsistencies which certainly exist in the Turkish nature. Chapter VI., on " The Turk at Home," is full of admirable description. Chapter VII., on Fikret Bey, the patriot and poet, contains many graphic touches, and gives to Western readers an excellent idea of one of the best of the Young Turks. But even in this sketch the author's inexperience betrays him. He attributes to a most sensitive conscience Fikret Bey's apparent unwillingness to accept pay for giving private lessons, whereas anyone who has really lived among the Turks knows that when a teacher is engaged he will at first, as a mere matter of etiquette, pretend not to be desirous of any pay. Before the conversation is over, however, he will arrange his terms!

W

The purpose of the author is a good one: to offset American prejudice against the Turks by bringing out all the good qualities which can be found in him. But the way in which he presents his case is often lacking in accuracy, and he gains nothing by his loose remarks about the Christian faith. For example, he suggests that Moslems may be right in the notion that St. Paul has falsified (*sic*) the Christianity of Christ! As a matter of fact this was never asserted by orthodox Islam nor by the Prophet. Mohammed's charge regarding the twisting of passages in the Scriptures referred to the Jews of his own city and of his own day!

On page 206 the author gives a travesty on missionary methods, representing one of the missionaries at a preaching service as "spending his whole time and energy vilifying Mohammedanism." It is safe to say that such an occurrence has never taken place in the history of American Missions in Turkey. It is sheer falsehood to try to make people in America believe that the missionaries vilify Mohammed or anybody else. Of course, when inquirers study his life and compare its gross sinfulness with the sublime life of Christ, the missionaries do not hide the truth. But this is a very different matter.

On page 198, in giving a summary of the Mohammedan religion, the author states with the air of a champion, that "Islam is a masculine religion. It offers a strong contrast to our church, with its growing effeminacy." It must be that the author is speaking of his own anæmic Unitarian Church, or that he is entirely out of touch with the powerful life and activity of the modern evangelical churches. Islam *is* a masculine religion in a selfish and coarse sense. The high and noble life of womanhood created by Christ is unknown in Islam. In Islam men appropriate every advantage and every privilege for themselves, and they have any number of Surahs to support their arrogance! Is it possible that Mr. Cobb admires the masculinity which seeks to keep women in the position of toys and slaves?

He admits that he has attended but one mosque service, and yet he seeks to generalise on Mohammedan worship and the part it plays in Turkish life. The subject of the book is a vital one, but the treatment of it is a failure at many points. S. v. R. TROWBRIDGE.

The Mamelukes in Egypt. (The Islam Series). By Canon SELL, D.D., M.R.A.S. The Christian Literature Society for India. Pp. 54. Price 6d.

The Ottoman Turk. By Canon SELL, D.D., M.R.A.S. Christian Literature Society for India. 140 pp. Price 1s.

This (the fifth) of the historical section of the "Islam Series" monographs, sketches in two chapters the history of the two dynasties of Mamelukes, viz.: the Turkish or Mongol known as the "Bahris" (1260-1382), and the Circassian or "Burgis" (1382-1417). The rise of these slave kings, "lawless adventurers, slaves in origin, butchers by choice," from Beybais the founder of the Empire, and the decline from the days of Nasir (d. 1341) is distinctly stated.

The second book will be recognised as of special value in enabling its readers to follow intelligently the use of many terms in common use to-day, in discussions concerning Turkey and the Near East, and in the very briefest space enable him to discover the relations of the various countries from Austria to Persia which have arisen since the thirteenth century up to the present time. The last sixty pages are crammed full of information, clearly stated, showing how the present state of affairs has come to exist. R. S. MCCLENAHAN.

Annali Dell' Islam. Compiled by LEONE CAETANI, Principe di Teano. Vol. VII. Pp. 600. Milano: Ulrich Hoepli.

The seventh volume of this masterly work, limited to 300 copies, has just appeared from the press. In regard to its general character the reader is referred to the review in our number for April, 1912. Seven other volumes are in the course of preparation! This traces the annals and the history of Islam from 24 A.H. to 32 A.H., or, to be more exact, from November 7th, 644 A.D., to August 1st, 653 A.D., beginning with the proclamation of Othman as Caliph and extending to the conquest of Khorassan. The book contains two maps, the usual elaborate chronological tables, and a specially interesting section of thirty pages on the compilation of the official text of the Koran, 30 A.H. One would like to see this section translated into English and separately printed. S. M. Z.

The Prophet and His Problems. By J. M. POWIS SMITH. 16mo; pp. 244. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1914. $1.25.

In his treatment of Old Testament prophecy, although from the standpoint of modern theology, the author devotes a chapter to Prophets in the Semitic World well worth the attention of the student of Islam. During the Mecca period Mohammed in many respects resembled the prophets of Israel. He draws a comparison between the use of musical instruments by the prophets and the nervous tension produced among Mohammedan dervishes by similar methods. For the rest the book does not enter deeply into the psychology of prophecy. Z.

Arabia Infelix, or The Turks in Yamen. By G. WYMAN BURY. 12mo; pp. 213. London: The Macmillan Company. 1915. *7s. 6d.*

The author of "The Land of Uz," reviewed in our quarterly (October, 1912), has here given us the latest and best book on one of the most interesting provinces of the Moslem world. He knows Yamen and its people probably as well as any living authority, and writes with sympathy and discrimination. There is no lack of books on this wonderfully fertile province in South-west Arabia, first unveiled to Europe by Niebuhr, and since then entered by many an intrepid traveller and explorer. Mr. Bury introduces us to the early history of Yamen, the entrance of the Turks upon the scene and their present-day rule. He discusses the present position of the Imam, whose power is nominal rather than real.

"The present Imam has been able to establish himself in Central Yamen, at his capital Khamir, and in his name the tribes have always been ready to have a slap at the Ottoman Government.

"But now that the Turks, by a stroke of policy, have recognised him as Imam, and placed in his hands the supreme control and administration of the Islamic code, which is now the law throughout Yamen, he is in a somewhat difficult position. . . .

"He has now to play a double game, for he poses as an ascetic before the watchful eyes of his tribal *entourage*, and yet he must accept the support of the Ottoman troops at Khamir. These, in spite of stringent instructions from the central authority at Sanaa, are bound to shock the antiquated tribal notion of Islam at every turn. The very fact of their wearing trousers of European uniform cut is considered immoral."

Although the book was written before the war, it is clearly evident

that the days of Turkish rule in Yamen are ended. In Sanaa, Turkish prestige is lower than it has been for years. The province of Asir is in open rebellion, and except for the port of Hodeida and the road that leads to the capital, the Turks have little left to represent their authority.

The author is at his best when he describes the mountaineers and villagers, the birds and beasts, the crops and climate, and the whole native life of this corner of the Moslem world. Yamen is so fertile that the *durra* crop yields a hundred and forty fold, and that in the Tihama. Three crops are obtained from one sowing. Wheat yields fifty fold, and yet with all this prodigality of nature, there is not a flour mill in the country. The fact that Yamen cannot feed her population is not due to natural causes nor to sloth, but to bad government. "The Turks," he says, "have long looked on the agricultural class as a milch cow, and now the cow has kicked the pail over." Islam as a living belief is declining. The old Moslem law must stretch itself, he says, "to cover the conditions of modern life, and where it stretches it inevitably tears." The practice of religion is small, and the call to prayer finds little response even on Fridays. One of the evil habits of the people is their addiction to *kat* (*Katha edulis*).

"During all the years I have known the Aden hinterland, I never saw anything like the general addiction to this vice as I have met in Yamen, during the last year or two. There, the habit has become a serious social evil, undermining the mental and physical health of the native population; the foe alike of thrift and industry."

The last chapter gives an account of current events and a forecast. The author sees no hope in Turkish rule, but does not indicate who will be her successor. The vigour of its style, its excellent illustrations and a good map, make this volume in every way attractive. Z.

Au Sinaï et dans l'Arabie Pétrée. By Léon Cart. Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie, with maps and photographs. 12mo; pp. 252. Neuchâtel. 1914.

In this bulletin M. Léon Cart, who was a member of the expedition organised by the Bible School of the Dominicans of Jerusalem, tells of his journey from Suez to Petra through the Oasis of Firan, Jebel Musa, Nakhel, and Qedeis, their plan being to follow in the tracks of the Children of Israel (p. 203).

The book contains mostly geographical descriptions and a few historical references. Incidentally, mention is made of the Bedouins—of their occupations, of their worship, and of the burial of their dead, which bear evident traces of pre-Islamic beliefs. The book is attractively written, full of geographical information, and would gain by the addition of an index. F. J. Dupré.

India and the War. The Suicide of Turkey. By Cassamally Jairazbhoy. Bombay: The Times Press. 1914.

Two pamphlets by the vice-president of the Moslem League, Bombay, from the latter of which by special permission we reprint a portion elsewhere. The argument, although not new, is well presented, and the author expresses the hope that "these pages may help true believers who find themselves doubtful as to how they should act in this great crisis in the history of Islam." As long as the Holy Places are kept free from molestation, he thinks that the future division of the Ottoman Empire need not concern Indian Moslems. Z.

The Lesser Eastern Churches. By ADRIAN FORTESCUE, D.Ph. 12mo; pp. 468. London: Catholic Truth Society. 1913. Price 5s.

This book forms a continuation of the author's previous work, "The Orthodox Eastern Church," and deals in its four parts with the Nestorians, the Copts, the Abyssinians, the Jacobites, Malabar Christians, and the Armenians. In each case the method is to give first a brief history of the Church and then a résumé of the present day condition. The amount of first-hand research may be gathered from these sentences from the preface, which are well justified: "Part is gathered from notes made by myself in their lands, interviews with prelates and clergy of their rites, observations of their services, and information supplied by friends in those parts. . . . I have compiled my own book, as far as I could, from original sources. . . . Only in the case of Armenian books am I unable, through ignorance of the language, to consult any." The book is indispensable to all interested in the Eastern Churches, though naturally the Roman standpoint of the author is evident throughout. R. F. MCNEILE.

North Africa and the Desert. By GEORGE E. WOODBERRY. 16mo; pp. 364. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1914. $2.00.

A graphic survey under the pictorial aspect. It is sympathetic with the inscrutable spirit of the natives, realising the background of sad sterile fatalism behind their vivid sensual life. It appreciates the French Government's search for the line of least resistance in bringing the flood of civilisation through the vast tract under its sway.

I. LILIAS TROTTER.

Moeurs Arabes (Scènes vécues). By Dr. LEMANSKI. 16mo; pp. 318. Paris: Albin Michel. 1914. 3 fr. 50.

Dr. Lemanski, who as a doctor has for twenty years been able to observe the Arab woman of Tunis in her home, gives in his book an exposition of her character and degraded life, which he says are the result of her religion. He deals at length with the seclusion of woman, and traces to it her apathy, indolence of mind, and modesty, which he considers a physical rather than a moral phenomenon. The girl is brought up for man's pleasure. "On prépare plutôt de jolis instruments de plaisir pour le gynécée ou une honnête mère de famille que des femmes spirituelles ou simplement intelligentes."

Comparing the Moslem girl with her Western sister, he finds her physically superior. The average Western girl owes her ill health to overstudy, whilst "En Orient, rien de tout cela n'existe. . . . La santé est florissante. L'organisme évolue normalement sans que le cerveau par sa prédominance de travail nerveux n'entrave le développement général" (p. 98).

Dr. Lemanski sees in education the remedy for the uplift of the Arab woman, who would nevertheless remain a Moslem. He himself later contradicts this statement. "Sous le drapeau orné du croissant, la femme n'a qu'une destinée, être épouse et mère, quand le ciel lui à fait la grâce de la protéger des infortunes ou des déchéances: l'esclavage ou le prostitution" (p. 255).

The title of the book, "Moeurs Arabes," is misleading, as the women referred to are Tunisian women only. Moreover it deserves a more scientific title, for Dr. Lemanski writes from a technical point of view. F. J. DUPRÉ.

A Woman in the Sahara. By HELEN C. GORDON. 12mo ; pp. 354. New York : Frederick A. Stokes Company. 1914. $1.50.

Interesting sketches of life on the borders of the Sahara on the outskirts of Algeria. The book is neither a guide book nor a book of travel, but a series of vivid impressions. It is not a book on the woman *of* the Sahara, and yet we have glimpses of her sad lot. In the words of the author : " The followers of the prophet, to their everlasting shame be it spoken, have done everything possible to humiliate and debase womanhood. The women themselves, being kept in a complete state of mental ignorance, are voiceless and defenceless against all attack." There is an interesting chapter on the Abadhia sect, and on the performances of the dervishes. Z.

Drei Jahre in der Libyschen Wüste. By J. C. EWALD FALLS. Herdersche Verlagshandlung. Freiburg im Breisgau. 1911. Pp 335. 2 Karten.

Three Years in the Libyan Desert. By J. C. EWALD FALLS. Translated by ELIZABETH LEE. T. Fisher Unwin. 1913. Pp. 356.

This is the account of the discovery by Monsignor Dr. Carl Maria Kaufmann and his cousin, the author, of the long lost city and temple of Menas, the patron saint of the Libyan Desert, but the second half of the volume contains a very interesting study of the Auladali Beduins, who were employed for the work of excavation, and who, according to Dr. Rohlfs, are " the only real nomadic Arabs of the Egyptian Empire." Chapter X. describes more particularly their religion and customs ; Chapter XI. their possibilities as a people. Monsignor Kaufmann has high opinions of them, if only the Auladali Desert could be reclaimed, as he maintains it might be from his own experience at the city of Menas. The whole account has suffered very considerable abridgment in translation, and unfortunately Chapter XII. is entirely omitted from the English edition, and without any note of the fact. This is the more regrettable because it contains a fascinating selection of Beduin songs from the Libyan Desert. In each case reference is made to the Arabic collection in the Report of the Expedition, published at Cairo in 1908, and one could wish that the translator had found opportunity to include at least some of them. A further regrettable omission is that of the maps and very many of the beautiful illustrations in the German edition. E. I. M. B.

Outlines of International Law. By CHARLES H. STOCKTON. 12mo ; pp. 616. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 1914. $2.50.

Admiral Stockton, who represented the United States at the London Naval Conference of 1909 and is a well-known authority on international law, here gives us a book which is as timely as it is scholarly. Previous works, as he indicates, have become out-of-date because of the result of recent tribunals and conferences at the Hague. The book is of special interest in its references to Turkey and present-day international problems in the Near East. Every missionary in Moslem lands should know something of international law, and this is the most recent manual on the subject. Z.

Kayrawani-Risala ou Traité abrégé de Droit Malékite et Moral Musulmane. By E. FAGNAN. Pp. 293. Paris : Paul Geuthner. 1914. Fr. 11.

The Present World Situation. By JOHN R. MOTT. 16mo; pp. 259. New York: Student Volunteer Movement. 1914.

The title of this book would be too ambitious for any man save Dr. Mott. It consists of lectures and addresses given in America, and was written before the war broke out. That great catastrophe, however, lends a peculiar timeliness to the subject. The first chapter gives present-day conditions in mission lands, the second reveals the readiness of the educated classes, including Moslems, to hear the Gospel, and the following chapters show the urgent need for a larger statesmanship on the mission field and the dangers consequent from the impact of Western civilisation. After dealing with the possibilities of closer co-operation on the part of the Christian forces, the final chapter shows that the chief emphasis must be placed upon the supernatural forces of prayer. The book has all the virile strength of Dr. Mott's public addresses and the array of facts and figures is irresistible. He pleads for a masterly occupation of the great unoccupied regions of Africa and other parts of the Mohammedan world:

"Where after Africa is there another continent for which Mohammedanism and Christianity can contend? Where after Turkey and the Nile Valley is there another keystone to the vast arch of the Mohammedan world, with seams of weakness which make possible the disrupting of the whole structure?" S. M. Z.

Islamic Africa. By R. BURTON SHEPPARD. 16mo; pp. 127. New York: The Methodist Book Concern. 1914. 75 cents.

This modest volume purports to be a study of the underlying principles of Islam, its inherent strength and the causes for its spread in Africa. It really consists of some valuable, but scrappy notes, made during a visit to various parts of the African coast by the author, as secretary to Bishop Hartzell, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We regret a number of misprints and a certain carelessness in quoting authorities. Z.

Letters from Persia and India, 1857-1859. By the late General Sir GEORGE DIGBY BARKER. 12mo; pp. 183. London: G. Bell and Sons. 1915. 7*s*. 6*d*.

These experiences of a subaltern during the Mutiny period will be of special interest to-day. In 1857 he wrote: "I have just returned from a visit to Busrah. They were very civil to us, and seemed to be in great hopes that the English will come some day to be masters of the country." The hope is now fulfilled. The letters were written during the Persian campaign, the Indian Mutiny, and on the voyage home. The account of the capture of Lucknow and the "end of the rebellion" throw considerable light on Moslem feeling in India at the time. Z.

India's Fighters: Their Mettle, History and Services to Britain. By SAINT NIHAL SINGH. Pp. 252. London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company. 1914. 3*s*. 6*d*.

This little volume gives a general account of the fighting clans of India, their origin, their deeds of daring and their past services to the British Empire. Most of the Moslems who serve in the army are recruited from Baluchistan, the Northwest Frontier Province, and the Punjab. The Moslem soldiers have shown gallantry equal to that of the Gurkhas, Sikhs and others celebrated for their daring. Z.

The Nomads of the Balkans. A. J. B. Wace, M.A., and M. S. Thompson, M.A. Methuen, London. 1914. 15*s.* net.

This is an account of life and customs among the Vlachs of Northern Pindus, based on visits in 1910-1911 to Samarina, Monastir, and other Vlach communities. Being Latin by origin and closely allied with the Roumanians, the problem of the Vlachs would lie beyond the scope of "the Moslem World" were it not that their history so clearly illustrates the baneful influence of Turkish suzerainty upon the development of the Balkan peoples.

As early as the sixth century A.D., the Vlachs were a distinct nationality, as may be inferred from the list of forts and fortified towns recorded by Procopius and the Vlach words which are recorded by Theophylactus, and down to the Turkish conquest they played a national part in the history of the Balkans. Under Turkish rule, however, in accordance with Turkish custom, religion alone was recognised as the basis of nationality, and for centuries the normal development of the Vlachs as a people was arrested. Not until the nineteenth century did the Christian races subject to Turkey obtain any measure of freedom to build churches and schools of their own. Among the Vlachs the national movement began in the Pindus villages about 1867; it was originated by natives of Macedonia, but help was soon procured from Bucharest, which became the centre of the movement. In 1905 the Vlachs were recognised by the Turks as forming a separate "millet" or nationality.

The Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 have altered the political status of Samarina, which is now included in Greece, and the authors deem it probable that the Vlachs will eventually become assimilated to the dominant race. Meanwhile, however, this book affords much interesting first-hand information about them. They are still, to a large extent, nomads, spending the summer on Pindus and moving down with their flocks and herds for the winter to the plains of Thessaly and Macedonia, and Chapters V.-VII. record many details of their customs. Chapter X. describes the distribution of the Vlachs, Chapter XI. their language, and Chapter XII. discusses their origin. The book includes good illustrations, appendices with festival songs in the Samarina version, and select texts in Vlach with a full vocabulary, and a careful index. E. I. M. B.

In Ports Afar. By Edwin A. Schell. 16mo; pp. 265. The Abingdon Press, New York. 1914. $1.35.

Fascinating sketches, vivid with colour and poetic insight, of wanderings in Palestine, Egypt, India, and the Far East, by the president of a denominational college in America. A large part of the book is taken up with a discussion of the "great American Adventure" in the Philippines. Here, as in the other countries visited, the author is conscious of the presence of Islam, but the subject is not dealt with at length. K.

A Syrian Pilgrimage. By John Bayne Ascham. 16mo; pp. 203. The Abingdon Press, New York. 1914. $1.25.

A series of well-written travel sketches by a capable observer, based upon a journey made in 1913 for the American School of Oriental Research. There is only slight reference to the missionary work in Palestine, and the Moslem problem does not seem to have impressed the author sufficiently to receive notice. Z.

An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem. By GRACE ELLISON, with an introduction by E. G. BROWNE. Methuen, London. 1915. 5*s*. net.

During the early months of 1914 *The Daily Telegraph* published a most interesting series of letters from Constantinople by Miss Ellison, and much of their contents reappears in this more permanent form. Many features in the background of Turkish home life, as Halidé Hanoum urges it should be called (p. 17), will possibly change very shortly, but "the new woman" of Turkey, as pictured especially in Chapters VI., VII., and IX., will retain her interest for all who have watched the fate of that Empire. The author is full of hope and expectation as regards Turkish women, and her attitude strongly reminds one of the description of Persian women which proved so surprising to many in Mr. W. Morgan Shuster's "The Strangling of Persia." At least a nucleus of women in both Turkey and Persia are passionate patriots, and there is a striking parallel in the following: "Unlike the women of Western Europe, she (the Turkish woman) has not inherited the tired brain of tired ancestors; she has now awakened after centuries of rest, with a brain fresh and ready for work, and it is astonishing to see the ease with which she can learn" (*Ellison*, p. 106). "The Persian women have given to the world a notable example of the ability of unsullied minds to assimilate rapidly an absolutely new idea, and with the élan of the crusader who has a vision, they early set to work to accomplish their ideals" (*Shuster*, p. 185). For instance, Oulvyé Mevlane Hanoum, the editress of *Kadinlar Dunyasin*, the weekly illustrated paper at Constantinople devoted to women's interests and open to any woman writer, "had had no experience whatsoever of editing or of the business side of running a paper. But she saw the need and she supplied it."

The closing chapter estimates the relative influence of Great Britain and Germany upon Turkey. On Christmas Eve, 1913, the author was at coffee with the Turkish heir to the throne and Djémal Pasha. "The Turkish heir to the throne considered German influence something that did not even come within the range of discussion. "Germany," said he, "is forty years old; she has yet to be tried." Then he added, "Britain has shed her blood for us, that we can never forget." Such is the opinion of the future Sultan about Britain, now Turkey's enemy, and, indeed, he meant every word. And in the harems—does Germany even count? Right in the heart of Asia Minor they have heard of British honour, but who has heard of Germany?" (p. 207). E. I. M. B.

A Pilgrim's Scrip. By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON. 12mo; pp. 345. The Bodley Head, London. 1915. 12*s*. 6*d*.

The author's pilgrimage carried him from the Sudan and the Sinai Peninsula to Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and Persia; and nowhere on the journey has his knowledge of things archeological blinded him to the living interest of the present. The many excellent illustrations give glimpses of the every-day life of the people, for whom the author has a ready sympathy. It is to be regretted that, while admiring the ideals of missionaries among Moslems, he feels that theirs is a hopeless task, and already recognised as such by the societies working in the Turkish Empire! K.

Triumfen Van Het Kruis: Schetsen der Christelijke Zending van alle Eeuwen en Allerlei Landen.—Dr. HENRY BEETS. 12mo;

pp. 259. Grand Rapids (Michigan): Eerdmans-Sevensma Company. 1914. $1.00.

This second, enlarged edition of a popular history of Christian missions from the days of the apostles until the present time, appears with an introductory essay by Dr. Bavinck on Missions in the Scriptures. The chapters on the Dutch East Indies and early efforts in Ceylon and Brazil are specially interesting. Special attention is naturally given to the missionary work of the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands and in America. Work in Moslem lands from the days of Raymund Lull receives careful and in most cases accurate mention.

Z.

The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament. By Sir WILLIAM RAMSAY, D.C.L. Pp. 427. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 12*s*. 1915.

The constant problem that meets the missionary who works among educated or half educated Moslems is to make clear to them the trustworthiness of the Bible. Recent Mohammedan apologetic has busied itself not only in India, but in Cairo, by bringing together the arguments of destructive criticism and infidelity against the Scriptures. The myth theory of Professor Drews, the attempts to trace the Gospel story to Buddhist sources, and the discrepancies and inaccuracies discovered in the Gospel record on the authority of some so-called European scholars—all these are part of the argument given by the educated Moslem for rejecting the missionary's message. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, for those who deal with this class to be able to meet their arguments fairly and fearlessly. This volume by Sir William Ramsay is one that we can heartily commend. His aim is to show that the New Testament is unique "in the compactness, the lucidity, the pregnancy and the vivid truthfulness of its expression."

The book consists of three parts. The first is preliminary and autobiographical; the second consists of the James Sprunt Lectures delivered at Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, and deals with the accuracy of Luke as a historian, especially in the Acts and in the second chapter of his Gospel; the third part of the book is in the nature of an appendix on allied questions. The argument given for the early date of the Acts and its absolute historic truthfulness is unanswerable. One might wish that the chapter on Luke ii. 1-3, which passage was formerly spoken of by the critics as legendary, might be presented to Mohammedan readers in abbreviated form.

S. M. Z.

The Reconciliation of Races and Religions. By Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, D.Litt. 8vo; pp. 216. London: A. and C. Black, 1914. 6*s*. net.

According to the author's views, expressed in the preface, "the union of religions must necessarily precede the union of races, which at present is so lamentably incomplete." He hopes for universal peace by universal syncretism and by putting Christianity into the melting-pot with other faiths, especially Bahaism, to which he has become an adherent. The superficial view here given of Islam is evident from the following statements: "Neither poor law nor society for the protection of animals is required in Moslem lands." "The sweetness of Muhammed's character appears not only in his love for his first wife, but in his affection for his daughter Fatima." "Baha 'Allah and Christ were both images of God." In other parts of the book he shows a more critical spirit, although one that is utterly unaware, apparently, of the real character of Islam—*e.g.*, on page 196:

"A time must surely come when, by the common consent of the Muslim world the references to Muhammad in the brief creed of the Muslim will be removed. For such a removal would be no disparagement to the prophet, who had, of necessity, a thoroughly unhistorical mind." What Islam would be without Mohammed is certainly a problem!

The greater part of the book (pp. 46-156) consists of biographical notes in regard to the rise of Babism and the Bahai sect, and although the author gives a considerable bibliography, his account of the sect is wholly uncritical. It is sad to think this should be the last product from the pen of Dr. Cheyne before his death on February 20th last.

S. M. Z.

La Siège, la Prise et le Sac de Constantinaple par les Turcs en 1453. By GUSTAVE SCHLUMBERGER. Pp. 369. Paris: Plon Nourrit and Company. Index and many maps and illustrations.

Food for Reflection. By 'ABD 'ISA. Pp. 152. Madras: Christian Literature Society for India. 1914. 8 annas.

Dr. Wherry recently remarked that much of the older literature prepared for Moslems in India had a tone of winsomeness and sympathy which is lacking in some more recent books. "Food for Reflection" was published by the C.M.S. in 1865, and was written by Rev. Dr. Koelle, a profound Oriental scholar for many years resident in Turkey. It deals with an interesting and important aspect of the Moslem problem, and consists of an historical comparison between the three monotheistic faiths, answering such questions as:

"Did Islam, as a religion, evince a superiority to Christianity by a higher vitality and greater power in converting men, and in spreading spiritual and temporal blessings?"

"Is the teaching of Islam as superior to that of the Gospel, as the teaching of the Gospel is to that of the Mosaic Law?"

One wonders why the name of the author was not given instead of the old nom-de-plume.

S. M. Z.

Other People's Children. By MARGARET R. SEEBACH. 16mo; pp. 227. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society. 1914.

A book of interesting stories from every part of the mission field by different authors. A few of them deal with Moslem lands. S. M. Z.

Patriots of the Kingdom. By BASIL MATTHEWS. United Council for Missionary Education, 8 Paternoster Row, E.C. 1914. 2d.

Three talks for the use of teachers of boys and girls between the ages of nine and fourteen, the last of which relates to Raymund Lull and the anniversary of his martyrdom this year.

The Arabian Nights Entertainments. Illustrated by MILO WINTER 12mo; pp. 293. Rand McNally and Company, New York and Chicago. 1914. $1.35 net.

Gorgeously illustrated by sixteen coloured plates, this old favourite appears in a new edition in the Windermere Series of books for children. It is printed in bold, clear type, on an exceptional quality of paper, and the pictures have variety, vigour and humour. Every child would be pleased with such a volume.

Z.

SURVEY OF RECENT PERIODICALS

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I. GENERAL.

II. SOURCES OF ISLAM IN ARABIA.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM UP TILL RECENT TIMES.

The Reception of Arabic Science in England. Professor Chas. H. Haskins. *English Historical Review.* JANUARY, 1915. An interesting study, supported by Latin citations, of the diffusion of Arabic Science in England during the twelfth century.

Some Eminent Jewish Philologers of Bygone Ages. Professor H. M. Léon. *Islamic Review*, Woking. APRIL, 1915. An account of the Jewish philologers "who gave their works to the world under the ægis of Islamic sovereigns," especially the neo-Hebraic poets, such as Josébar-José-Hayathom, Simon-ben-Caipha, Asher Jannai, etc., etc.

The Life and Poetry of Sheikh Haroun Abdullah. Henri M. Léon. *The Asiatic Review.* MAY 15th, 1915. A general account illustrated by translations.

The Treasure of Akbar. Vincent A. Smith. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.* APRIL, 1915. A description of the wealth of Akbar based upon the writings of De Laet, the Dutchman, who wrote in Latin in 1631; Mandelso, the German, whose writings, largely added to by editors, appeared in various forms between 1646 and 1659; and Father Manrigue, the Spaniard, who was at Agra in December, 1640, and printed his book in Spanish at Rome in 1649. "The gross valuation would be from seventy to eighty million sterling."

The Spread of Islam in Ashanti. Rev. J. D. Russell. *The Foreign Field*, London. APRIL, 1915. An illustrated account of Islam in Kumassi. "From all accounts Muhammadanism must have a strong hold in some parts of the hinterland. A little while ago I built some teachers' houses, and all the labourers engaged come from the Northern Territories. There are representatives of five different tribes from widely separated districts and they all profess Muhammedanism, and what is more they learnt it in their own country."

IV. KORAN, TRADITIONS, THEOLOGY, etc.

Indice alfabetico di tutte le biografie contenute nel Wāfi bi-l-Wafayāt di al-Ṣafadi, nell' esemplare fotografico di don Leone Caetani, principe di Teano. G. Gabrieli. *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei.* Vol. XXIII. FEBRUARY, 1915.

Leaves from three Ancient Qurans. Maulvie Sadr-ud-Din. *Islamic Review*, Woking. MAY, 1915. An extended and disparaging criticism of the texts edited by the Rev. A. Mingana, D.D., and Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis.

A Glance at the Quranic Palimpsest. Al-Qidwai. *Islamic Review.* MAY, 1915.

Leaves from Three Ancient Qurans, possibly Pre-'Othmanic. Henri M. Léon. *Islamic Review.* MAY, 1915. Further reviews with adverse criticism of the texts edited by the Rev. A. Mingana and Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis. Typical of the attitude is the following: "We can only regard the book before us as a pitiable exposure of how valuable time and energy can be wasted and money absolutely thrown away in the pursuit of a chimera" (H. M. Léon).

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE OF ISLAM.

Der heilige Krieg im Islam. Friedrich Würz. *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin.* APRIL, 1915. A study of the jihad, including a translation of the fetwa of the Sheikh ul Islam of November 14th, 1914.

What of the Holy War? Rev. J. L. Barton, D.D. *Men and Missions*, New York. MARCH, 1915. An address at New York, January 29th, 1915, on the possibility of a jihad.

Herzegovina and Mostar, its Capital. Professor S. Harrison Lovewell. *Lutheran Church Work*, Philadelphia. MARCH 4th, 1915. A general sketch showing the backwardness and superstition of the people. "Whether Moslems or Christians, implicit trust is placed in talismans and all kinds of charms."

Across Asia Minor on Foot (II., III., IV.). W. J. C. *Blackwood's Magazine.* MARCH-APRIL-MAY, 1915. Further chapters of the account begun in February.

Behind the Veil. *Egypt General Mission News.* JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1915. A translation from "Les Répudiées," by Madame Rushdi, of the Zâr, the method of exorcism firmly believed in and widely practised in Egypt.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

Problems of Diplomacy in the Near East. "Outis." *Fortnightly Review.* APRIL, 1915. A general survey of the problem raised by the forcing of the Dardanelles.

Egypt and her Foreign Relations. Professor E. W. Green. *Indian Review.* FEBRUARY, 1915. A survey from earliest times, showing that "foreign influence has almost always penetrated Egypt from Asia, and Egyptian expansion has invariably been directed towards Asia" . . . "Egypt's foreign relations in fact have undergone no change in principle between the age of Cheops and the twentieth century."

Egypt and Palestine. Colonel Sir Chas. M. Watson. *Cornhill Magazine.* APRIL, 1915. A study from earliest times to show that (1) the desert separating Egypt from Palestine has never

been a serious obstacle to a properly equipped and well-led army advancing in either direction; (2) with the exception of some comparatively short intervals Palestine has been a dependency of Egypt, or both have been provinces of same empire.

Stimmungen und Strömungen im ägyptischen Islam (i.). Missionar Enderlin. *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift.* MAY, 1915. (Supplement). An account, somewhat anti-British in sympathy, of the present condition of Egypt. The effect of the British occupation upon the fellaheen strikes the author as especially depressing from the economic standpoint.

War and Missions in the Persian Gulf. Rev. E. E. Calverley. *Missionary Review of the World.* MAY, 1915. A sketch of work during the past months at Muskat, Bahrein, Kuweit, and Busrah. "In spite of difficulties, the missionaries met in Muscat and celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Arabian Mission. They expressed the belief that never before were the prospects for their work among the Moslems of Arabia so encouraging, and asked for six new missionaries and increased funds to meet their growing responsibilities and opportunities."

Great Britain and the Persian Gulf. H. T. Montague Bell. *United Empire.* APRIL, 1915. An account of the rise of British predominance, especially during the last half century.

Armenia's True Interests and Sympathies in the Great War. F. R. Scatcherd. *The Asiatic Review.* APRIL 1st, 1915. Armenia is "the Belgium of Asia," and strong appeal is made for some form of Home Rule either under the guarantee of the Powers, or of the Entente Powers, of one of them, after the war.

The War and Missions in Turkey. Rev. J. L. Barton, D.D. *Missionary Review of the World,* New York. MARCH, 1915.

Turkey, Germany and the War. Sir Edwin Pears. *Contemporary Review.* MARCH, 1915. Traces the rapid growth of German influence in Turkey since the present Emperor came to the throne; describes the attitude of the Balkan States in the present war; and sketches a possible new state which may be created with Constantinople as its capital, and one of the first articles in its constitution that there should be no fortification either at the Dardanelles or on the Bosphorus.

Unsere Waffenbrüderschaft mit der Türkei. Dr. Johannes Lepsius. *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift.* MARCH-APRIL, 1915. A discussion of the alliance between Germany and Turkey in the present war to show the necessity of it in order to preserve Western Europe from Pan-Slavism. Special study is given to the jihad in the April number.

Turkey and German Capitalists. Synd Hossain. *Contemporary Review.* APRIL, 1915. A study from the economic standpoint of the vital importance of the alliance between Germany and Turkey in the present war. "German financiers and manufacturers of all descriptions have invested huge sums in Asia Minor . . . Foreign investments and the safety of trade routes go together, otherwise there is danger that in time of war interest payments may not be received."

England, Russia and Constantinople. J. B. Firth. *Fortnightly*

Review. APRIL, 1915. An account of the dealings between England and Russia concerning Constantinople since 1815. The blunt rejection with which Russia's overtures for a settlement of the Eastern Question have always been met has now been changed into a thorough understanding by (1) the British occupation of Egypt; (2) the Russo-Japanese War and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance; (3) the Anglo-Russian understanding with respect to Persia.

The Future of Constantinople. J. Ellis Barker. *Nineteenth Century.* MARCH, 1915. A careful study of the strategic importance of Constantinople for Russia, and her actions in the direction of the city and of India since the political testament of Peter the Great. Conclusion: "Russia's acquisition of Constantinople, far from increasing Russia's military strength, would greatly increase her vulnerability."

The Defences of Constantinople. H. Chas. Woods. *Fortnightly Review.* APRIL, 1915. A careful description with a map based on personal observation.

The Future of Turkey. "Politicus." *Fortnightly Review.* APRIL, 1915. Shows the vital importance for the development of Russia of her gaining control if not possession of Constantinople.

The Partition of Asia Minor. J. B. Firth. *Fortnightly Review.* MAY, 1915. "There can be no suggestion of setting up a new State of Asia Minor . . . It has never stood alone and it never will . . . Who are the claimants? Greece for the vilayet of Aidin; Italy for Adalia; France for Syria. If Great Britain, on behalf of Egypt, desired to assume a protectorate over Palestine, she would be able to make out a good case, but Palestine had far better be joined with Syria. British policy to avoid, wherever possible, having land frontiers coterminous with those of great military states, points very clearly to the desirability of not adding any new ground to the British Empire out of the Turkish possessions in this part of the world. Russia's direct interests lie in the Caucasus and the Black Sea region. For the Turk himself, with his primitive methods and habits, the pasture lands of the interior of Asia Minor are well suited, and it is significant that Konia is said to have already been chosen as the new seat of government."

VII. HISTORY OF MOHAMMEDAN MISSIONS.

Progress and Development in Persia. The Right Rev. Bishop Stileman. *The East and the West.* London, APRIL, 1915. An account of the progress of missionary work during the last twenty-five years: evangelistic, educational and medical under the C.M.S., the L.J.S., the Archbishops' Mission to the Assyrian Church, the Bible Society, and the American Presbyterian Board.

The C.M.S. Palestine Mission, 1915-1915. Rev. H. Sykes. *Church Missionary Review.* APRIL, 1915.

North Palestine Thirty Years Ago. Charlotte Ellis. *Church Missionary Review.* APRIL, 1915.

South Palestine To-day. Rev. Canon R. Sterling, M.A. *Church Missionary Review.* APRIL, 1915. Personal experiences from the outbreak of the Great War until missionaries had to leave Palestine by Government order.

Jerusalem: August to December, 1914. (i.). Rev. H. Sykes. *Church Missionary Review.* MAY, 1915. A general description of conditions.

The Christian Student Movement in the Turkish Empire. H. E. Stephen Panaretoff. *The Student World.* APRIL, 1915. An article to show "that the young man of the Turkish Empire is ready to respond to the call for high thinking and high living, provided the call comes to him free from sectarian propaganda or proselytism."

VII. THEOLOGICAL AND APOLOGETICAL.

Islam and Atonement. Douglas D. Porter. *Egypt General Mission News.* NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1914. A Christian exposition based on the Moslem Feast of Sacrifice.

Ghazzali's "Rescuer from Error." A. T. Upson. *Blessed Be Egypt.* APRIL, 1915. A close translation from the original Arabic of a lecture at Assuan, Egypt, February 8th, 1914. The original Arabic and permission to translate can be had by return post from the Superintendent, Nile Mission Press, Cairo.

The Moslem World

VOL. V OCTOBER, 1915 No. 4

EDITORIAL

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AFTER FIVE YEARS.

WITH this number *The Moslem World* completes its fifth year of issue, and we take this opportunity to thank all our contributors for their co-operation and also our critics for giving us inspiration towards higher ideals. While we regret that, because of the war, at least two other leading reviews on Islam, the French and Russian, no longer appear, this is the more reason for a common platform and a common forum for the investigation and the study of the problem in the English language. Our aim is frankly missionary, but that is not synonymous with blind narrowness or sectarian controversy. We desire to understand and interpret the best modern thought in Islam as well as to know its fundamentals historically. We have striven to give our readers a true view of Islam as a world-wide religion in all its varied aspects and its deepest needs, both ethical and spiritual. We still desire, as was stated in the Editorial of our first number, "to point out and press home the true solution of the Moslem problem, namely Evangelisation; to be a practical help to all who toil for this end; and to awaken sympathy, love and prayer on behalf of the Moslem world until its bonds are burst, its wounds are healed, its sorrows removed and its desires satisfied in Jesus Christ."

NOTE.—Readers of this Review are reminded that the publishers do not necessarily endorse the particular views expressed in the several articles or on any of the pages of the Review.

To this end we open our columns to all contributors who have made special study of any phase of Islam, or who can, from their own experience, teach others how to win the Moslem heart.

However great and deep may be the chasm that separates the nations of Europe to-day in their view of Islam, politically and in its relations to Turkey and the Caliphate, the Church Catholic in all lands and in all its branches is never more conscious of its vital unity than when facing the Moslem world as a spiritual problem. Here Raymund Lull and Henry Martyn, Pfander and Thomas Valpy French, Koelle and Muir, find a common platform. Christ's Kingdom has no national frontiers. Love is greater than Law. Faith and devotion rise higher than diplomacy. In connection with the leading article of this number on the "German Missionary Point of View," we are glad, therefore, to quote the noble words spoken last year at the Swanwick Conference of Representatives of the British Missionary Societies by Inspector Dr. Karl Axenfeld, of the Berlin Missionary Society. They are a message for the present hour:

"The time has passed for us to say that Mohammedan Missions are carried on without result. The experience of the last few decades has shown us that, where they have been carried on with strong faith, in humility, and with yearning love, their influence on hearts has not been unrequited when, with it all, there has been united a deeper comprehension of the feelings and inward needs of Mohammedans.

"In many Moslem lands, however, the time has also passed in which one can even say of Mohammedan Missions that they are poor in results. On the contrary we are already beginning to trace in some Mission Fields that, with the rich results of Mohammedan Missions and a force that affects not only individuals but the masses, or, at any rate, the higher strata of the people we have, for the first time, entered upon their difficulties and dangers.

"It is the common conviction of members of the Moslem section of the Continuation Committee that the great day of Mohammedan Missions has begun to break.

The hindrances to an effective result lie less in the world of Islam than in the attitude of Christianity towards it . . .

"Christianity is still failing in joyous, courageous, service-loving faith in its relation with the world of Islam. On my journey on the coast and in the interior of East Africa I became acquainted with not a few missionaries (and these not only Roman Catholics), who by no means realised it to be their duty to bring the Gospel to the Mohammedans resident amongst the heathen within their reach; when questioned on this point, they justified themselves with the reply that Mohammedan Missions are entirely ineffectual. This want of faith, which is comprehensible in view of the previous history of the relations between Islam and Christianity, is prejudicial to Christian Missions just where they might labour to good effect.

"But more important than everything is that Christianity in the homeland should assume a right attitude towards the Moslem world, and that it should recognise, in looking back over its history, that it must repent before God and let Him endow it with a stronger faith, a richer measure of love and greater humility in its contact with Islam.

"With the great day of Mohammedan Missions there arise not only great tasks, but also dangers and conflicts which only that faith will conquer which seeth Him Who is invisible. Our brethren in the Mohammedan Missions need a Christianity at home which will bear them up through everything. Let us ask our Lord for His Spirit that the Church of Christ may be so led."

No words could express more deeply and more truly the programme and the passion in which all those who love our Lord Jesus Christ are evermore united, whatever their race, or language, or fatherland.

S. M. Zwemer.

London.

ISLAM AND THE WAR FROM THE GERMAN MISSIONARY POINT OF VIEW

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SOME nine months have now passed since a telegram was published from the German Emperor to the Crown Prince, announcing that the Shaikh ul Islam at Constantinople had proclaimed a Holy War against Russia, France, and England, as the oppressors of the faithful. The Young Turkish party for years past had regarded Germany as its model and helper, and had at length succeeded in throwing the weight of the Turkish Empire on the side of the Central Powers in the European war. But before effect could be given to this political measure, it was necessary, as in the case of the deposition of Abdul Hamid, to procure and put forth a legal opinion or decree (fatwā) of the leading jurist and divine of Islam. The fatwā was dated November 14th, 1914. Its text* is couched in the traditional form of detailed questions and summary answers, and is a summons to raise the fiery crescent throughout the world of Islam. That it fell undeniably flat is one of several signs that in the present struggle the national and political cleavage has cut athwart the religious divisions of the world.

What the political result of the intervention of Turkey may be is another question, which it is not our business here to discuss. We are concerned with the influence of the Christian Church of all nations on Islam, and from this point of view our German friends and colleagues have naturally been much exercised by the welcome given on the part of their rulers to an alliance, which offers its assistance in the shape of a Holy War for the defence and maintenance of Islam. What effect this will have on the attitude of German Christians

* See p. 415 for the text as it appeared in the Egyptian press.

towards missions to Moslems time alone can show. Meanwhile it may be of interest to see how Protestant missionary leaders and others in Germany are trying to think out the problem; for the maintenance of sincere and cordial relations politically and socially with the Moslem world without demanding the suppression of religious convictions, is a matter which has often engaged attention on our side. We quote mainly from the two leading missionary reviews, the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, edited by Dr. Julius Richter, of Berlin, and Dr. Johann Warneck, of Bethel, bei Bielefeld, and the *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, edited by Pfarrer Würz, of Basel.

On the one hand the view that Missions to Islam are now shown to be superfluous has been expressed by Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, the author of "Babel und Bibel." *The Christian World* (April 29th, 1915) reports that he "explained to a representative Berlin audience, including many clergymen and theologians, that Islam, so far from being a barren and retrogressive faith, leaves the door wide open to religious, moral and social progress, and that, therefore, no German Christian need be ashamed of an alliance which, begun in time of war, will be cemented and bear worthy fruit in times of peace." Professor Wilhelm Hermann, of Marburg, in a lecture on "The Turks, the English and German Christians," published in the *Christliche Welt* (March 18th, 1915), has also endeavoured to show that it is precisely as Christians that the German people have every reason to look upon the German-Turkish alliance with complete satisfaction. "We must," he says, "be convinced that they" (the Turks) "understand us and we them. Were this not the case our alliance would be a false and unworthy one. . . . As Christians we can understand and reverence their religious convictions, and our future lies along the same road as theirs."

Likewise in the *Christliche Welt*,* Professor Troeltsch has declared the alliance of the Central Powers with Turkey to be also an alliance with Pan-islamism, and he adds :—

* Cf., *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, June, 1915. P. 253f.

"Islam is thereby recognised as one of the great acknowledged (berechtigte) religious world powers, which can no longer be a missionary objective, but must be left, just as is the Christian world, to its own inner religious development. It is unlikely that this result will ever be reversed, and it will effect the treatment of the Moslem problem in our Colonial possessions. For all that, Christianity is, of course, not invalidated in the territories occupied by the white race (to which, apart from the Christian communities in our Colonies, it seems bound to confine itself), though it is limited as regards its world mission. It seems to be conclusively established that humanity is distributed into distinct spheres of religious life, free henceforth to stimulate one another spiritually, but each bound to fulfil its own destiny. This will astonish or alarm no one who has already come to this conviction on general principles from a study of the history of religion. But it is now beginning to be universally evident from the course of historical events."

The opposite view, on the other hand, is taken by Pfarrer Würz. In April* he wrote on the question of the attempted jihad :—

"The most important future issue for Christian missions is, how far their inward participation in the present world conflict, as denoted by the summons to a Holy War, will influence Moslems in their attitude towards Western culture, and above all as regards receptivity to the Gospel of Christ. Little can as yet be said on the matter, although we are not without hope. Moreover our duty at the moment is not to make conjectures as to the future but so to live in the present, with every sense alert, that we shall be ready for the tasks that lie before us."

In May and June Pfarrer Würz also discussed the Khalāfat, or successorship of the prophet, involving the Imāmat, or leadership of Islam, as claimed by the Sultāns of Turkey. He refers to its widespread, though far from unanimous, recognition, as evidenced by frequent mention of the Sultān in the Friday prayers, and insists on the essentially religious character of the Khalāfat as a theocratic institution. He says† :

"It is the apex of the Moslem community, a community in which the essential bond of unity is a common faith, but which thereby, according to the ancient Oriental conception, becomes also a political unit. Wherever the idea of the Khalāfat makes itself felt as a living force and finds response among Moslems, it is bound to react most deeply upon them as a religious incentive and bond of union. Experience shows that its revival is bound up with a more decided repugnance to Christian truth. In essence and in effect the idea of the Khalāfat necessarily involves the rejection of Christianity, and this is entirely unaffected by the fact that Turkey is for once fighting on the side of Christian nations. For the Christians of Germany and Austria it is of

* Cf., *E. M. M.*, April, 1915. P. 145.

† Cf., *E. M. M.*, June, 1915. P. 248f.

the utmost importance that they should keep these facts clearly in mind at the present juncture."

Also in commenting on Professor Troeltsch's opinion quoted above, Pfarrer Würz further emphasises the seriousness of the problem. He says* :—

"The problem of our present relation with Islam could not be more cogently presented than it is here, and, therefore, we too are grateful for Professor Troeltsch's article. What seems to him the verdict of history upon the age-long yet false claims of Christianity, is in fact one of the greatest dangers of the present hour. True, we need have no fear for the world-wide validity of the Gospel of Christ ; humanity will need it as much as ever in the future and it will prove as effectual as it ever has been. But our own share in that Gospel may well be at stake if, in the political alliance with the Mohammedan world, we lightly esteem the incomparable treasure with which we have been endowed by God. That would mean, not the end of the world mission of Christianity, but certainly the end of our world mission on behalf of Christianity. It may be difficult for us when, as a natural consequence of political alliance, the consensus of public opinion is friendly towards Islam, to maintain our clear Christian consciousness with regard to that faith. But if we do, we may bring blessing to that Mohammedan world with which we are now outwardly so closely associated."

The editor of the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, in an article apparently written before the publication of the fatwā of November 14th, 1914, remarked† :—

"Will Turkey unfurl the green flag of the Prophet, and with the warcry, 'Islam at stake,' let loose the jihad ? And will such a summons find a hearing and response in the Moslem world ? That Germany and Austria will thus be forced into something like a brotherhood of arms with Turks, Persians, Afghans, and perhaps other Moslem peoples, is an uncomfortable thought. There is, however, a community of interests which is too far-reaching. Unless one were absolutely convinced that Moslem lands are hopelessly incapable of reform, one could hardly, from a higher level of human development, stigmatise as an outrage any attempt on the part of a Moslem people to save their existence and perhaps regain a portion of their power by means of a war in a political combination which at last may be favourable to them."

Later on the same review had two articles by Dr. Johannes Lepsius (of the Orient Mission, especially to Moslems), on "Our Brotherhood in Arms with Turkey." He points out the non-religious character of the present war, as compared with many former ones, and then puts the question : "But has not the entry of Turkey into the European war shifted its character to the religious plane ?" No, he thinks. Its real inwardness is the

* Ibid., p. 254.

† Cf., *A. M. Z.*, December, 1914. P. 502.

struggle for the supremacy of Europe, long wielded by England, although threatened by Russia. This is now naturally gravitating to the Central European Powers (or Power). The great and permanent danger to culture is Russia, which now has about 170 million inhabitants as against 67 million Germans; and in 40 years will have 300 millions as against 100 million Germans. It is necessary to erect an impenetrable barrier to hold back this pressure of Slavdom: its northern end must be at Memel on the Baltic Sea; its southern at Basra on the Persian Gulf. Turkey must, therefore, be linked on to the Central Powers.

As regards the jihād Dr. Lepsius gives interesting extracts from a Turkish school manual, entitled "Means of Salvation," approved by the Shaikhu'l Islam and the Ministry of Public Instruction. The principles here laid down are*:—

1. Jihad or Holy War is not a war for national or political ends: it is a religious war for the propagation of Islam.
2. The Holy War is not based on patriotism, but on obedience to a divine command.
3. The objects of the Holy War are not directly moral or cultural but religious, and its reward is essentially a celestial one.
4. The Holy War is not an occasional outbreak, but a perennial activity, the only change being from a chronic to an acute condition, or vice versâ.
5. Hence it is not a necessary evil, but a sacred duty, to be carried on at all costs till all nations are subdued to Islam.

The reality of things, Dr. Lepsius remarks, is in strange contrast to this. "The genuine jihād is a venerable relic, well suited for exhibition to the Moslem populace to inflame their zeal, but this relic has lost its wonder-working power."† In point of fact, Dr. Lepsius holds that this war is a national struggle for the existence of the political empire of Turkey, but it was necessary to put the religious appeal in the forefront, partly to supply the absence of patriotic feeling among the Ottoman population, partly to smooth over the dangerous rift between Turk and Arab. It might also be of use in exciting disaffection among enemy peoples. Unfortunately, "outside the confines of Turkey, the Holy

* Cf., *A. M. Z.*, April, 1915. P. 149ff.

† Ibid., p. 152.

War has three dangerous enemies, which are more than its match : the Russian knout, the English pound, and the universal indolence of Moslem races. As a national state Turkey still possesses vital forces. Islam as a world-power is an extinct volcano ; in the depths of its crater there may still be rumblings, but it has lost any power of eruption."*

Here the writer seriously quotes a report in the *Vossische Zeitung* (March 18th and 19th, 1915) of a new Mahdi in the Sudan called Derwish Mabur el Afl. " He is said to have annihilated the British troops under General Hawley in December, and by the beginning of March to have conquered the whole of the Sudan with the capital Khartoum and a great part of Nubia. Dangerous as this success is for the British Government in the Nile Valley and although it plays directly into the hands of Turkey, it cannot be regarded as the result of the summons to the Holy War. For this revolt would have broken out apart from the Turkish jihad, and even if Turkey did succeed in conquering Egypt it would have to suppress this rising in the Sudan."† His conclusion is, that in view of the unparallelled changes in national relationships through the war, " the task of Missions to Moslems will assume a new aspect, consequent on the contrasted relations of the European powers to Islam."‡

In the supplement to the May and June numbers of the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, Herr Enderlin, of the Sudan Pioneer Mission, founded a few years ago in Assuan, gives a sketch of " Tendencies and Currents in Egyptian Islam." He is of opinion that Mohammedan sympathies are with the German cause, and that they pray " especially for Hag (Mecca-Pilgrim) Mohammed Ghalyum —*i.e.*, the Emperor Wilhelm." Some years since, in a remote village of Upper Egypt, an Egyptian gentleman who first received him with suspicion, on finding he was a German brought out a bottle of scent with a picture of the Sultan Abdul Hamid and the German Emperor arm in arm, saying, " They are friends, they belong together " ; and the company responded, " May Allah lengthen his

* Ibid., p. 153. † Ibid., p. 154. ‡ Ibid., p. 157.

days." To the writer (p. 63) "it seems as if Germany were destined by the will of God to present to Mohammedans a better picture of Christianity" than Russians or Anglo-Saxons. It may be added that this last article is in a feuilleton of the review, and the passages quoted are in small print; so it may be presumed that they are not regarded as of first class authority.

The solution of the problem thus presented to German Christians must wait for the verdict of the peace settlement, when that comes. But if the war so far has shown that national and religious oppositions are very far from running parallel, we may hope that any change in political relations between Germany and Turkey need not bar the rising tide, hitherto perceptible in German missionary circles, of interest and sympathy towards the Christian witness to the Moslem world.

H. U. Weitbrecht.

A VETERAN'S MESSAGE

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In the April number of The Moslem World we had a greeting from the Bishop in Jerusalem, who was just girding on his armour for the new work which lay before him. The Editor has kindly asked me for a brief message from one who is just laying aside his armour and retiring from the Front. To my great sorrow, the doctors have forbidden me ever to return to Persia, and ill-health makes it necessary for me to leave the firing line and to join the ranks of those who are engaged at the home base. It is some comfort to realise that the work and prayers of those at home are needed as much as the labours of those abroad. We are being constantly reminded that the present war will be won in the workshops quite as much as in the trenches. The only thing that matters is that each citizen who rejoices in his heavenly citizenship should be in the place chosen for him to faithfully serve his King.

The thought uppermost in my mind, which I should like to pass on to you, is *the absolute certainty of the final victory of our King.* We are on the winning side, however long the final victory may be delayed. Christ has conquered the forces of sin and Satan. We see *not yet* all things put under Him, but that " not yet " speaks to us of the crowning day that is coming, in which every stronghold of error shall be cast down, and every tongue —even in what are now Moslem lands—shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father !

It is sometimes helpful to look back as well as to look around. My thoughts go back to a voyage up the Persian Gulf nearly twenty-six years ago. That grand old veteran, Bishop French, was witnessing for his Master at Muscat, and was, a few months later, to lay down his life for Him there. But with that solitary exception the Banner of the Cross was being uplifted nowhere in the

Persian Gulf between Karachi and Baghdad. Zwemer and Cantine had not yet appeared on the scene to prospect for the Arabian Mission. Bruce, with two colleagues, was at work in Julfa, an Armenian village close to Isfahan, and the C.M.S. had then no other work in Persia. The Bible Society's work in the Persian agency was almost in its infancy. The American Presbyterian Mission in Northern Persia was much less fully developed than it is to-day. There were no special signs that an era of progress was at hand. But to-day we thank God for the vigorous work that for many years has been carried on at Muscat, Bahrein, Busrah, Kuweit, and elsewhere, by missionaries of the Arabian Mission. Some of them already rest from their labours; but their works do follow them. One of them, George E. Stone, who died at Muscat, left a message which has often been an encouragement to others, "*We are getting the dynamite under this rock of Islam, and some day God will touch it off!*" The C.M.S. work in Persia has been greatly developed during the past quarter of a century. Hospitals for men and women have been built in the Mohammedan cities of Isfahan, Yezd, and Kerman, while educational work has been established in those centres. Faithful work has also been done for some years at Shiraz, though, alas, that scene of Henry Martyn's labours is at the present time unoccupied by any ambassador of the Cross. Itinerating tours have proved that there is in the country an open door for evangelisation everywhere. Medical missions do more than unlock the doors; they take them off their hinges. The Bábi and Bahái movements, and the persecutions to which their adherents have been subjected, have in many directions created a craving for religious liberty, and stimulated a search for truth. God has wrought and is manifestly working with us to-day; let us take courage, making the words of Henry Martyn our own, "*If there is one thing which refreshes my soul above all others, it is that I shall behold the Redeemer gloriously triumphant at the winding up of all things!*" That time may not be distant.

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July, 1915. (*Bishop in Persia*).

MOHAMMEDAN TRADITION AND GOSPEL RECORD

THE HADĪTH AND THE INJĪL*

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[In this article, sections I and II lay claim to no originality of research. They are simply and solely a study on Goldziher's epoch-making essay on the Ḥadīth in his "Mohammedanische Studien," vol. II.; and the concentration of the attention on certain conclusions which it seems right to draw from the things there proved.

In section III the attention of the reader is called to the bearing of the conclusions thus reached upon the question of the reliability of some of the earliest Christian documents.—W. H. T. G.]

THERE is nothing in Christianity which particularly invites comparison with the Koran, as a book in which the Deity is ostensibly the sole speaker throughout, and which has come down to us practically verbatim from its promulgator. More commensurate are the Mohammedan *Traditions* and the *Gospels*. In both of these the basis is *narrative*, or reports of *sayings*. Both have come down to us, to a greater or less extent, through oral tradition in the first stages, their committal to writing and authorisation being later. Both directly concern the all-important subject of the life and teaching of a religion-founder. And both (though in different ways) are treated as sacred books; for although modernising Moslems refuse to consider any book except the Koran absolutely authoritative, the vast majority still regard their Bukhārī as a Book on which an oath may just as rightly be taken as the Koran itself.

It is strange, therefore, that with these *a priori* resemblances, the two sets of records should present such immense and striking differences. The most important of them are (1) the much more modest dimensions of the Christian records as compared with the Moslem; (2) the lateness with which the Moslem records were

* See "Translation of the Chapter on Hadîth and the New Testament," by F. M. Y. S.P.C.K. London, 1902.

collected into book form as compared with the Christian ; (3) the absence in the Gospels of *isnād* (*i.e.*, the citation of the pedigree of each report, whether of incident or saying), and the all-pervading and all-important part played by *isnād* in the Traditions.

It is these differences which force upon us the question of the relative reliability of the records which we call "the Gospels," and the records which are called "the Ḥadīth." And this is the general subject of the present article. But before we can discuss this definitely, it will be necessary to concentrate attention exclusively on the Ḥadīth, as being less familiar to us, both in history, form, and content ; deferring the comparison between Ḥadīth and Gospel until the end.

I.

All information whatsoever about matters historical, theological, social, ritual, legal, etc., was passed down by the Moslems through the first centuries of Islam in the form of *oral traditions*, each tradition (or ḥadīth, literally "talk") consisting of (*a*) the pedigree (*isnād*), (*b*) the text (*matn*). The former gives the chain of transmitters connecting the final recorder with the original speaker or narrator. The latter gives the information thus supplied, usually in the shape of a short paragraph, often consisting of no more than a few sentences, sometimes a single sentence.

The volume of these traditions grew in the course of a few centuries to be quite prodigious, running into hundreds of thousands, and touching upon every imaginable subject, however great and however trivial. The efforts of the great Traditionists, like al-Bukhārī, were, therefore, far more efforts of *criticism* than of collection, The difficulty was not the getting, but the sifting.

But what was their canon of criticism ? That is the important thing for us to know.

In the first place, their criticism was never, under any circumstance, *internal*. Provided that the chain of transmitters was sound, no intrinsic improbability, impossibility, or absurdity in the substance of the tradition itself, was allowed to weigh for a moment. Even con-

tradictions were allowed to stand, and the existence of them created another branch of the traditionist science, the task of which was to explain and harmonise the differences away. We see in this total absence of *internal* criticism a grave defect in the Moslem method. For although our own Biblical critics have undoubtedly relied too *much* on internal criteria, and have probably in consequence proceeded very one-sidedly and precariously, it is still more evident that a cautious employment of the internal method by the Moslems, to reinforce the external one, would have saved them from an infinity of delusion.

In the second place, then, their method was wholly external; that is to say, it consisted in criticising the genuineness of the chain of guarantors. To some extent this criticism was impersonal—*e.g.*, if the chain exhibited chronological or other impossibilities (the birth-years, death-years, and habitations of the guarantors being known), the tradition was called in question or put on to the black list. But a still more important criterium was the personal one, and consisted of a *naqd ir-rijâl*, or critique of the guarantors themselves; their truthfulness and general reliability.

Admitting, with admiration, the wonderful learning which such a method involved, and its success in the *impersonal* aspect, how are we to account for the serious failure of Moslem criticism in regard to the traditions? We have already seen one cause in its resolute barring of internal evidence. A second, and more important cause (it seems to us), was the breakdown of even its external critique, when it came to criticising the transmitters themselves.

Generally speaking the Moslem critic found himself less inclined to criticise the reliability of *ir-rijal* ("the men") the farther back he went. His own contemporaries and the preceding generation or two would be the most liable to suspicion. The Tābi'ūn (or second generation after Mohammed) were not to be lightly touched with suspicion. But the Ṣaḥāba, or contemporaries, were *practically* exempt. For it is a surprising fact that even where there were admitted suspicions,

they were never allowed, actually and practically, to weigh. We shall see examples of this strange fact in a moment; but meanwhile let us clearly realise the drastic results of such a defect. For it is manifest that impurity at or near a *source* is far more important than lower down. The Moslem criticism of "the men" should, therefore, have been *more* unsparing in proportion as it approached the source; whereas in fact, owing to the practical impeccability attributed to the Companions, it was relaxed exactly in proportion as it was needed, and suspended exactly at the point where it became absolutely indispensable. For it is now certain that the three or four Companions whose contributions to the traditions probably exceed all the rest put together, are precisely those upon whose word least reliance can be placed.

This last point is the one which must now engage our particular attention. If we study for a moment the chronological table of names, with their dates, which accompanies this number, we are at once struck by the fact that nearly all the *best* of the Companions died off between twenty and thirty years after the death of Mohammed, namely, during the period of the wars, both foreign and civil, which completely fill Islamic history down to the establishment of Umayyad power. And it is precisely these Companions, whose veracious recollections of speech and event we should first desire to possess, who are represented by the isnād's as having passed down to us nothing, or next to nothing. Still more remarkable is the fact that even one of this class like Sa'd b. Waqqās, who survived some twenty years into the Umayyad period, has handed down little or nothing. To whom then do we owe (or are represented as owing) the vast bulk of the traditions about Mohammed? To the *younger* Companions, and above all to three men, *Abû Huraira*, *Ibn 'Abbâs*, and *Anas b. Mâlik*, to which names may be added that of *'Â'isha*, the favourite wife of Mohammed. No objection can be levelled against the latter on the score of brevity of companionship, or slightness of intimacy, with Mohammed. The objection to her is her utter unscrupulousness, her

passionate partizanship, and general want of sound character. But the former three, in addition to certain grave personal defects, were only in touch with Mohammed for the last few years of his life, and in those days were exceedingly juvenile persons at that. Ibn 'Abbās, to whom we owe thousands of traditions on all manner of subjects, and especially the Prophet's own alleged explanations of Koran texts and alleged legal decisions (that is to say, traditions involving masses of most intricate detail), was only fourteen years of age at Mohammed's death! and his contact with him was limited to the last four years of his life, that is to say, from the tenth or eleventh of his life! Abū Huraira, to whom also thousands of traditions are ascribed, only islamised four years before Mohammed's death, and was a youth of no mark whatever during that time. Anas b. Mālik, likewise a man of no birth, standing, or education, was only nineteen at the death of Mohammed. Yet Caetani estimates that more than half of Al Bukhārī's 7275 traditions are ascribed to these three youths—one might almost say, boys! In Ṭabari's monumental history Ibn 'Abbas is cited 286 times, Abū Huraira 52, Anas 47, while the first four Khalifas are not cited so much as once.

The biographer Al Wāqidī (died A.H. 207) is evidently struck by this fact, and accounts for it by saying that the older Companions died "before there was any necessity of referring to them."* But in another place he attributes the fact to a much more suggestive cause, namely, "their *fear*" (*i.e.*, of giving forth traditions erroneously).† Thus 'Umar said, "If it were not that I feared lest I should add to the facts in relating them, or take therefrom, verily I would tell you." Similar words are attributed to 'Uthmān,‡ Ibn Mas'ūd and Ibn Zubair. No such modesty, unfortunately, characterised the less responsible Abū Huraira, Ibn 'Abbās, etc.—least of all the irrepressible 'Ā'isha: their popularity and fame, as we shall see, depended on the substitution of an extreme boldness, not to say effrontery, for this fear.

* Quoted in Muir's "Life." (Intro., p. L., note; new edition).

† Ib., p. LXVI., note. ‡ Ib., p. XXXVI., note.

Still more significant is a remark attributed to Sa'd b. Waqqās. He was almost the only one of the more reputable Companions who survived well into the period of the Umayyads, and it is, indeed, very significant that not even from him do we receive traditions—especially when we read the reason which he himself gives for his abstention. "I fear," he said, "that if I tell you one thing, ye will go and add thereto, as from me, a hundred!"* Frankness could no further go in the way of commentary upon the proceedings of Traditionists, within eighteen years of the death of 'Ali. Clearly the less scrupulous were *already* hard at work; and clearly (moreover) they were not only inventing traditions but *also* isnād's to match (cf., "as from me," above). The point is important; for it shows (1) how little objective value an apparently impeccable isnād may really possess, (2) how little it need really safeguard the tradition which it vouches, and (3) how futile is any argument for reliability which is based on the absolute integrity of the first generation of Moslems. For it is surprising that as early as this we find indications of the unscrupulousness to which Sa'd alludes so candidly. Even in 'Uthmān's time, less than twenty-four years after Mohammed's death, the thing had begun; witness 'Uthmān's strange and significant command: "It is not permitted to any one to relate a tradition as from the Prophet which he has not already heard in the time of Abū Bakr and 'Umar!" The words are their own commentary.

We may be pardoned for thinking, in particular, that these caveats were not without tacit allusion to the very traditionists whom we have already mentioned, especially Abū Huraira, Ibn 'Abbās, and 'Ā'isha. In the case of one of them, indeed, Abū Huraira, there are many indications of the low opinion held by his contemporaries of his truthfulness and reliability, which definitely justify the suspicion. If similar indications are wanting in the case of Ibn 'Abbās, the interest of his descendants in protecting the ancestor of their dynasty from everything and anything that might discredit him, is sufficient to

* Ib., p. LXVI., note.

account for the fact. For from all we know of the man* and the circumstances of his conversion, and from a rational judgment on his work, it is impossible to place him any higher than Abū Huraira.

If we place the allusions of his contemporaries to Abū Huraira in an appendix,† it is not that they are of secondary importance, but only because their disproportionate fulness might disturb the flow of our argument. On the contrary, they are of first-rate importance and should be most carefully studied. The points to notice here are :—

(1) if, in the face of these *contemporary* strictures, the name of Abū Huraira is passed by *later* criticism as beyond criticism, simply on the score of his being a Companion, this shows that later criticism simply had a blind spot in relation to the first generation of Moslems. And this is the more serious, for :

(2) the nearer falsification can be proved to the source the more serious it becomes. But here we have evidence of falsification at the very source. If a well-spring has been poisoned, what avails the most careful guardianship of the streams and reservoirs *below* it ? Yet Bukhārī increased the strictness of his *naqd ar rijâl* the later their lives occurred, diminishing the strictness to zero as he ascended the stream. We now see that both on general and particular grounds the process should have exactly been reversed. The Fathers of Mohammedan tradition were, in one word, entirely unworthy of such blind trust.

Nor, as we descend the stream again, do we find the banks and reservoirs well-guarded. Goldziher, in his epoch-making study on the Traditions in "Mohammedanische Studien," has shown with what utter unscrupulousness the business of tradition-falsification went on during the Umayyad and the first part of the 'Abbāsid period. Now political partisans coined ḥadīth's to

* In order to acquire authority for a certain tradition concerning the details of certain ritual lustrations at night, he claims to have more than once passed the night in the same bed with Mohammed and one of his wives, and thus to have observed the lustrations in question ! It is Bukhārī who preserves this story.

† See appendix to this article.

support various political parties, and now, similarly, ḥadīth's were coined to support the various schools of jurisprudence (*fiqh*), or to supply material for the lawyers upon which to base their systems. The number of traditions grew from thousands to tens and hundreds of thousands. So gross was the business that Moslems do not deny, and never have denied, that fabrication went on; the whole raison d'être of al-Bukhārī was to reduce these hundreds of thousands to a very few thousands, a confession in itself to the correctness of the verdict of modern times. But this is not the point. The real point is not that fabrication went on, but that there is the gravest suspicion that the best men were not above it, and that, therefore, even Bukhārī's critique and whole method are still further compromised. It is well worth while pausing to consider this point more in detail.

The times were in many respects out of joint in the world of Islam. The House of Umayy which, with Mu'āwiyah, had seized the Khalifate were reckoned by pious Moslems as usurpers on the one hand and semi-heathen on the other, worthy sons of those reprobate Meccan aristocrats whose conversion to Islam had only been secured by force of circumstance and hope of gain. It was absolutely necessary for such men to get religious sanction for their rule. The oracle of Ḥadīth was freely manipulated to this end, and the 'Ulama in the government-offices were pressed into the service of giving Umayyad rule a religious complexion in this and other ways. The strictest Moslems, therefore, refused entirely to serve under the *Khulafâ' al-jawr* (Tyrant-Khalīfas). And yet it was not entirely men of their own kidney who consented thus to serve. Under such circumstances there will always be found men of a mediating turn of mind who will make the attempt to serve God in Mammon's court, and Mammon for God's sake.

Of these was one who is the typical traditionist of his generation,* Zuhrī (d. 125). This man's name occurs in the isnād's of his generation more frequently than any other. And this very fact is enough to shake our already

* Just as 'Urwa b. Zubair was typical for the previous generation, and Ibn 'Abbās and the others we have mentioned for the first.

shaken confidence in the strength of these isnād-chains. For a remark of Ibn 'Awn (who died in 151, the same year as the author of the first extant biography of Mohammed) shows that the very fact of a traditionist of Zuhrī's generation* having taken office was enough to throw suspicion on him as a ḥadīth-guarantor. He says: "They ignored him, that is to say, they assailed his name, and did so *simply because he administered the affairs of the Sultân.*"† Similarly the great tradition collector, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, whose critique was in some ways none too strict, said of the same man: "I do not care for the tradition(s) of Shahr."‡ And yet in the standard collections of the next century (Bukhārī, Muslim, and this very Tirmidhī himself), this Shahr, and Zuhrī, and other employés of the Umayyad, were passed without question! Thus we see once more that tradition-criticism *weakened* in Bukharī's generation, while appearing to grow more strict.

The objection to these government employés is generalised for us in a remarkable little treatise of the sixth century A.H §

"Another thing that throws suspicion on the work of a traditionist is when he is notorious for his care of the world and his forwardness in attaching himself to kings and obtaining place and power with them. For in the case of such a one you cannot feel secure against his altering, changing, and fabricating traditions and his untruthfulness generally, for the sake of some advantage accruing to himself."

And other similar verdicts may be quoted.‖ To illustrate these remarks we may show by one or two definite examples how even a Zuhrī or a Shahr, in that all-important third generation of traditionists, did, as a matter of fact, lend themselves to practices such as these.

* Namely, Shahr, d. 112. The remark of Ibn 'Awn is preserved in the standard collection of at-Tirmidhī, ii. 117 (line 10).

† *Tarakūhu ay ṭa'anū fīhi wa 'innamā ṭa'anū fīhi li'annahu wallā 'amra s sulṭān.*

‡ Tirmidhī, ii. 16, nine lines from bottom: la 'ubālī bi ḥadīthi Shahr. § Al-Inṣāf by al-Baṭalyawsī, p. 104.

‖ *e.g., Man 'akhada wazīfata qāḍin fa qad dubiḥa bighairi sikkīn;* ("whoever takes the office of a cadi has been murdered without a dagger.") And, *man ittaba'a s sulṭāna ftatan* ("whoever attaches himself to the sultan is seduced").

Arabia being very anti-Umayyad, while Jerusalem was a chief centre of their power, the Umayyad sultans sought to encourage the idea that a pilgrimage to Jerusalem was as meritorious or even more meritorious than one to the ḥaramain. And a ḥadīth was produced in which Mecca, Medina, *and Jerusalem* were mentioned as the three places of pilgrimage, with the following startling appendix: "And one prayer in Jerusalem (*Bait al Maqdis*) is better than a thousand prayers in other (places)." It is significant that not only is this last clause suppressed in the later orthodox collections, but also the connection of Zuhrī with the whole matter is also suppressed.*

Again, when the proud Umayyad sultans led the Friday prayers, the old custom whereby the leader delivered the address (*khuṭba*) standing, and *after* the prayer, became distasteful for obvious reasons. The Moslem historians freely admit that the Umayyads took in hand the alteration of the custom. The unfailing remedy—a ḥadīth—was to hand, and this time it was another pious official theologian, Rajā' b. Hajwa, who was impressed into the service; and a ḥadīth was produced which stated that 'Uthmān had delivered the second of the two khuṭba's *sitting*. Here again later traditionists tried to conceal Rajā's part in this business, by saying that, on the contrary, it was he who really witnessed to the fact that the tradition was a forged one! †

There is one incident, reported about Zuhrī, in which Goldziher thinks he has caught his man red-handed. A certain Umayyad prince (*possibly* the Khalīf al-Walīd himself) approached Zuhrī with a note-book in his hand, and asked him to give him his authority to publish the traditions written therein in Zuhrī's own name. The compliant courtier had no objection. "Who else," said he, without so much as looking at the contents of the book, "could have transmitted them to you?" The idea of an *Umayyad* being trusted to circulate a whole bookful of traditions unsuperintended is humorous. It is yet another criticism on the sufficiency of Bukhārī's

* See Moh. Stu., ii. 35, 36. † Moh. Stu., ii. 43.

much-vaunted critique, that, even under such circumstances, he had no objection to such casual methods of transmittal in the preceding century.* From the same source as that to which we owe this story, we learn that Zuhrī excused himself by the highly significant remark, "*We were compelled to do this* (*i.e.*, write down traditions) *by those princes.*"† If the true sense is here given, no words could be more damning, but it is only right to say that Muir finds nothing suspicious in the words, which he takes to mean that it was the *writing* (as opposed to purely *oral* transmittal) of traditions to which Zuhrī had to be "compelled," the former practice being rare previous to the time of the pious Umayyad 'Umar II. (died 101).

As we shall see in the following section, it was by no means only in the political sphere that ḥadīth's were fabricated (with excellent isnād's, of course, to match). In other departments of first-rate importance (*e.g.*, law, Koran exegesis, and the miracles and table-talk of the Prophet) the thing went on upon an enormous scale. In the present section the object is rather to show the radical unsoundness of the whole system of Traditions, and the futility of the apparently rigorous system of Hadīth criticism, due to the utter weakness of the early links in the chains which connected Mohammed with the finished system of Sunnite law, or with the finished collections of traditions. In the case of the Companions we have seen that suspicion is centred in a few all-important individuals. In the case of this third generation and the succeeding generation, up to the birth of Bukhari (194), we have seen that this criticism of vitally important individuals could easily be pursued. But that is not all, we have now not merely to do with individual but with universal practice. For these were the times when the fabrication of ḥadīth's is acknowledged to have reached its maximum, called forth as it was by the exigencies of those days, as well as by the unrestrainable craving of believers. And the essential thing to remember is that it was not simply the unscrupulous, but the best and most reputable also, who

* Ib., p. 38; cf., p. 78, note. † Ib.

lent themselves to the fabrication of the text of traditions, or (its necessary accompaniment) the "cooking" or downright fabrication of their isnād's. We may close this section by the citation of one or two testimonies, in proof of this universal tendency.

At-Tirmidhī, in citing a tradition coming down from the great Companion Ibn Mas'ūd, about a saying of Mohammed's, through a certain Zayād b. 'Abdallāh alone, says, "Zayād b. 'Abdallāh abounds in strange and impossible traditions," and quotes a contemporary verdict upon him, "Zayād b. 'Abdallāh, *in spite of his honourable reputation*, lies in traditions."* The art of touching-up defective isnād's actually received a name (*tadlîs*)† which was not considered to have a too evil connotation. There were, indeed, so many dealers in *tadlîs* (*mudallisûn*) that it was impossible to condemn it with overgreat stringency. For a certain Kūfite named Jazīd b. Harūn (died 206) could declare that in his time *all* traditionists in the great centres of Kūfa, with one solitary exception, indulged in tadlīs‡; and, lest it be thought that the verdict is too general to be weighty, it should be added that individuals of the greatest piety and probity are expressly mentioned as being *mudallisûn*.

To do them justice, the Moslems were extremely candid about their offences. We close this section with two admissions which should remove any lingering doubt about the claims of any traditionist to credence :—

"I have not seen good men lie in anything so much as they do in ḥadīth."§ ('Āsim, d. 212).

"If we want anything, we put it into circulation as a ḥadīth"‖ ('Abdullah b. Lahī'a, d. 174).

Quid plura ?

* Tirmidhi, i. 203, lines 13 seqq "*Zayād b. 'Abdillāhi kathīru l gharā'ibi wal manākīr . . . Z. b. 'A. ma'a sharafihi yakdhibu fil hadīth.*

† Literally, "to conceal the defects of an article from the purchaser." ‡ Moh. Stu., ii. 48.

§ *Mā ra'aitu s ṣāliḥa yakdhibu fi shai'in 'akthara min al ḥadīth.* Quoted in Moh. Stu., ii. 48.

‖ *'idhā hawainā 'amran sayyarnāhu ḥadīthan.* Another version is, "If we entertain a (legal) opinion, we make it into a ḥadīth—*idhā ra'ainā ra'yan ja'alnāhu hadīthan. Op. cit.*, p. 130.

APPENDIX TO SECTION I.

Contemporary Suspicion as to the trustworthiness of Abu Huraira.

1. *General suspicion (on his own confession).*

(Bukhārī, in Kitāb al 'ilm, Bab ḥifẓ al 'ilm) 'Abū Huraira said: "Verily the folk say, 'Abū Huraira is too copious!' (*Inna n nās yaqūlūna, 'akthara abū Huraira*).* Yet but for two tenets in God's Book, I would not relate a single ḥadīth . . . Verily our brethren of the Emigrants were occupied by their business in the market, and our brethren of the Helpers by their business with their property. But Abū Huraira used to stick to the Apostle of God, and so used to be present at things they were not present at, and learn things they did not learn."

2. *General assertion that he lied (on his own confession).*

(Muslim, ed. with Nawawī's Commentary, Cairo, 1284, Vol. IV., 440). "Abū Huraira came out to us and struck with his hand on his forehead and said: 'Do you not say in your talk that I lie against the Apostle of God in order that you may be rightly guided while I go astray?† Now then verily I witness that I heard the Apostle of God say, "If one sandal-thong of any of you gets cut, let him not walk with the other, until he mends the first."'"

(The grotesque forcible-feebleness of this will not escape notice).

3. *Another of the same.*

(Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, quoted by Ibn Ḥajar, VII. 205). "It was said to him, 'You are (too) copious' (*'akthart*). He replied, 'If I related to you all I have heard (!) you would pelt me with skins.'"

This is immediately followed by yet another instance in which the same complaint is made: "Abū Huraira tells us too much." (*'Akthara 'alaina abū Huraira*).

4. 'Ā'isha (Ibn Ḥajar, VII. 205). "'Ā'isha said to Abū Huraira, 'You relate what *I* never heard.'" (*Innaka tuḥaddithu bi-shai'in mā sami'tuhā*). (There follows his cool rejoinder, that the lady had been too much taken up with affairs of her toilet to have ears for what *he* used to hear!)

5. *'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al 'Aṣ.* (Azraqī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 135).

"'Ubaidallah b. Sa'd said that he entered with 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al 'Āṣ into the temple-area, when the Kaaba had been burned, and stood with many others and wept . . . and said, 'O people, by Allah if Abū Huraira had told you that you would (one day) be slayers of the son of your Prophet, and burners of your Lord's house, you would have said, "There is no one who is more of a liar than Abu Huraira."'" (*Mā min aḥadin 'akdhaba min Abī Huraira*).

6. *'Abdallāh Ibn 'Umar.* (Tirmidhī, I. 281; cf., Bukhārī *kitāb is Ṣaid*).

"Ibn 'Umar related that the Apostle of God ordered the killing of all dogs except hunting and sheep-dogs. It was said to him that Abu Huraira used to add, 'and (except) field-dogs'; whereupon he

* In another version (quoted by Ibn Hajar VII. 203): *Innakum taz'amuna 'anna abâ Hurairata yukthiru l hadîtha 'an rasûli llah.* To this version a cock-and-bull story is attached, to account for his very exceptional memory.

† *'alâ 'innakum tuhaddithûna 'annî 'akdhibu 'alâ rasûli llâhi li tahtadû wa 'adill?*

said, ' Abu Huraira possesses fields.' " (*Qīla lahu 'inna abā Hurairata kāna yaqulu, " aw kalba zara'in " ; fa-qāla 'inna abā Hurairata lahu zara'un*) !

(The delicate insinuation of manipulation in the self-interest of Abū Huraira will not escape notice).

7. '*Abdallah b. 'Umar* (on another occasion). (Ibn Ḥajar's Iṣāba VII. 205).

On another occasion Abū Huraira had given out a ḥadīth normative for prayer-ritual which did not please Marwān, who accordingly referred it to 'Abdallah b. 'Umar. The text of Ibn Ḥajar then proceeds : " Then said 'Abdallah, 'Abū Huraira is too copious (in ḥadīth) ' (*'akthara Abū H.*). They said to him, therefore, ' Do you deny anything of what he says ? ' He replied, ' No, but he is bold and we are cowardly ! '* The matter came to Abū Huraira's ears, who said, ' Is it *my* fault if I have remembered and they forgotten ? ' "†

It is hardly possible not to take the words " *No, but he is bold and we are cowardly,*" as decidedly ironical. Ibn 'Umar would not really have imputed " *cowardice* " to himself in the duty of passing on Mohammed's words ; and by the " boldness " which he imputed to Abū Huraira he can only have meant effrontery.

But if this is so, it flashes an exceedingly illuminating little ray of light on this obscure business of ḥadīth origins. It shows us how completely the more conscientious were at the mercy of the unscrupulous. This 'Abdallah probably did not dare to stand up against Abū Huraira, and could only relieve his feelings by a covert sneer. There is something at once impudent and sullen in Abū Huraira's " Is it my fault . . . *if they have forgotten ?* "

8. *Marwān* (Ibn Ḥajar's Iṣāba, pag. cit.).

Marwan was angered by a remark of Abū Huraira's and came out with the remark which, as we have seen, seems to have been on the tip of everybody's tongue, " Abū Huraira is too copious with ḥadīth," and goes on :—

" And he only came a very little while before the death of Mohammed." And Abū Huraira said, " I came when the Prophet was at Khaibar, and I was more than thirty years of age," etc.

[Mohammed was at Khaibar in A.H. 7, about four years before his death. The above is interesting, as showing that Abū Huraira's own contemporaries considered the interval altogether too small to account for the copiousness of the ḥadīth, which Abū Huraira produced on every possible occasion. But, as we have seen, no one could stop him.]

Posthumous suspicion relative to the untrustworthiness of Abū Huraira.

9. *Abū Hanīfa.*

(In Ash Sha'rānī, i. 71 ; also Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al Mu' ammil, in Majmū 'at Masā'il, p. 32 ; Cairo, 1328). " I follow without question ('uqallid) the great legists of the Companions as Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali, and the Four 'Abdullāhs ; and I do not permit their contradiction by my own opinion (ra'y). except in the case of three, Anas, Abū Huraira, and Samara ; . . . Abū Huraira, because he used

* *Lā, walākinnahu 'agra'a wa gabunna.*

† *Ma zanbī in kuntu hafiztu wa nasū ?*

to relate all that he heard without reflecting on its meaning and without knowing (the science of) abrogation."

(This is quoted in Goldziher's Zahiriten, p. 79, *but without Abū Hanīfa's own qualification*, which (it should in fairness be pointed out) gives a much less sinister aspect to the matter than would be understood from Goldziher's quotation. Abū Hanīfa is not throwing doubt on Abū Huraira's bona-fides, but on the legal value of his traditions as normative for canon-law.).

10. *The School of Abū Hanīfa.*

There is reason to think, however, that the reluctance of Abū Ḥanīfa and his school to accept Abū Huraira as authority *was*, after all, based on their suspicion as to his bona-fides ; for in a narrative preserved by Damīrī in his Kitāb al Ḥayawān (English translation I., 645, 646) where a dispute between law-adepts in a Baghdad mosque is related, we find the Ḥanafī savant protesting against the citation of Abū Huraira as an authority on the express ground that "*Abū Huraira is suspected of falsehood in what he has written.* The Khalīfa Ḥārūn ar-Rashīd, who was present, supported the doubter in his doubt. The remainder of the story is an edifying account how the doubters, including the Khalīf, were silenced by an argument to which we call the particular attention of the reader ; namely, that if doubts are cast on the Companions like Abū Huraira, on whose traditions *the whole fabric of Islamic law rests*, then *the whole of the Sharī'a becomes suspect and its sanction and binding force disappear.* The reader will not fail to discern the significance of this penetrating remark. The conclusion drawn in those days was, of course, "*So much the worse for the doubts.*" The only scientific conclusion is, however, "*So much the worse for the Sharī'a.*"

II.

The foregoing considerations give ample ground for suspecting the stability of the foundations of Islamic tradition, and consequently of the enormous superstructure which has been erected thereon. That is to say, if a Mohammedan desired to know whether the colossal system, with which so many millions are perfectly content, can really be historically justified in regard to its fundamental assumption that it issues from *Mohammed* and so (as the Moslem thinks) from Allah, he has the gravest possible reasons for entertaining the most radical doubts. For the whole orthodox system of Koran exegesis and the whole orthodox system of canon-law rest (as systems) upon the traditions even more than on the Koran itself. If the unreliability of these, then, is established, those systems ought logically to be doubted and discarded. And modern intellectual Moslems do indeed attempt to go "back to the Koran" and to find in it alone (as far as possible) their data for

constructive systematisation ; thereby showing that they are aware that the use of the *traditions* as data cannot be justified.

On the other hand we must beware of over-scepticism. Not all the branches of Islam in which tradition has played a formative part are open to the same degree of suspicion. They must be taken separately and considered each on its own merits.

Let us see what these main branches are. We might distinguish them as follows :

1. Common historical incidents, such as expeditions, treaties, battles, deputations, punishments, etc., especially in the Medina period.

2. The more romantic incidents ; miracles.

3. Pious sayings, non-normative for canon-law ; exegetical traditions.

4. Personal traits ; domestic incidents.

5. Sayings normative for canon-law.

One has only to glance at this classification to see clearly that there are and must be degrees in the reliability or unreliability of traditions. It need hardly be added (after what was said in the last section) that in no case is it the *isnād* that guides us in fixing those degrees, but a quite different set of considerations.

1. The ḥadīth's which treat of the more unromantic and prosaic incidents of the career of Mohammed (and the Companions) are those which we may credit the most, and for this simple reason, that it was no one's interest to garble them, to add to them, or to confuse them ; always provided that sufficient witnesses of the incidents survived to pass down their account of them. For this reason the Medina period is far better vouched for than the Mecca, not merely because it was far less romantic, but because it was witnessed by enormously more persons. Those who witnessed the Mecca period were comparatively very few, and those few were just those who have passed down to us the fewest traditions. Consequently the annals of the Meccan period are full of romantic details of very uncertain validity. For the same reason the early years of Mohammed are, unfortunately, most of all involved in the rosy fog of romance.

It is curious that just these same unromantic details—treaties, battles, assassinations, etc. (all the day's work, so to speak, of the Medina period) are very often, from the point of view of the Bukḥārī critique, the most weakly attested. We have seen, however, that this is, to say the least, not in any sense a sign of their real weakness. It is often the most portentous isnād's which raise the deepest doubts.

2. The romantic incidents are much more open to doubt—especially in the Mecca period—while the miracles must of course be ruled clean out (if only on the strength of what the Koran itself says). The analysis and criticism of stories like those of the Night-Journey and Ascension show clearly how they grew under the hand of their earliest narrators.* Of course some grain of truth may exist with the bushel of historic chaff—*e.g.*, Mohammed may have had a vivid dream which (helped by an obscure Koranic verse or two) set the romancers spinning the edifying yarns of the Night-Journey and the Heavenly Ascent.

For it is not purely *a priori* considerations that underlie these adverse judgments. We have seen the grave reasons that exist for radically doubting the truthfulness of Ibn 'Abbās and Abū Huraira; for thinking that 'Ā'isha was an unscrupulous gossip, and that Anas was a person of no great claim to credit. Yet it is just those four to whom above all others we owe these traditions of romance and miracle. Here is one solid reason for gravely doubting them—quite apart from their intrinsic improbability or impossibility. A second reason is the abundant evidence that in the superheated atmosphere of the second generation there was an enormous *demand* for these romantic and miraculous tales on the part of the new generation of enthusiastic Moslems who had never seen Mohammed. We know how imperious was the necessity of making Mohammed appear in no wise inferior to the Moses of the Jews and the Christ of

* For in this case we have not to do with *later* legends, but, as Sprenger has proved (III. *intro.*), with legends elaborated by *contemporaries*. It is the evidence of elaboration; the nature of the subject-matter; and the character of those (younger) contemporaries that excite the doubts.

the Nazarenes.* Such a demand would have been irresistible even had the professional Traditionists been a great deal more conscientious than they were. But when we remember who they were, we understand at once that the suppliers were more than ready to meet the demanders half-way.†

Ibn 'Abbās was a self-seeker and the son of a self-seeker. Abū Huraira and Anas were just the sort of obscure second-rate persons to whom such a chance of gaining a dazzling and cheap prominence is irresistible. And what a chance ! The circles of admiring students—Abū Huraira is said by al-Bukhārī to have had 800 hearers !—all of them burning with desire to idealise Mohammed, and distributing popularity to the professors whose catering best corresponded with their desires ! What chance would historic truth have under those circumstances ? The whole thing was one huge premium on idealising falsification.

Traditions (needless to say) were not wanting which coolly made the Prophet himself sanction such proceedings. Thus one of them : " Say about me everything that is praiseful, with the sole exception of what the Christians say about Jesus." In other words, the glories attributed to the Prophet, whether of word or deed, *need* not have any objective basis to them at all. Sprenger notes how very early the practice grew up of reciting the deeds of Mohammed on *festal* occasion. It is certain, from what we know of the habits of the Arabs when poetising or rhapsodising, that such working-up of incidents must have included a liberal amount of romancing.

But add to all this that, as we know from the traditionists themselves, it was an accepted principle that " *in glorifying the Prophet it is allowable somewhat to exaggerate.*" The words are ash-Shāfi'ī's, and they put

* Sprenger (III., pp. lvi., lvii., note) has shown how directly some of the legends are framed to meet the need of edifying converts from Christianity and Parsiism.

† Sprenger (III., lxxxvi.) fixes the years between 40 and 80 A.H. as being par excellence, the time when these traditions multiplied. So also Muir.

the matter very mildly, to say the least. There was not a single Companion who would have thought himself bound to protest against an account which put a romantic or miraculous construction upon some event in the Prophet's life. Nay, it would not even have been safe to do so. Doubt was severely dealt with, as early as the Prophet's own time.* And the more conscientious were to an extraordinary extent at the mercy of the less so.† Finally, all the doors down the passage of Tradition had spring-locks, and there was no key on the inside. A tradition once emitted by an Ibn 'Abbas could not be retracted; and must not be questioned.

Que voulez-vous ?

3. Very closely connected with the above heading is that of the pious sayings of Mohammed. The "table-talk of Mohammed" is much admired nowadays, but does it occur to the admirers to ask themselves how far it is genuine ? The same imperious necessity of ascribing to the Prophet *deeds* to meet the preconceived notions of Christians and Magiane, held good in the matter of *words* and wise sayings. The rough Arabian must be made to be the author of sayings which could be admired by the cultured and milder Syrians and the polished Persians. Goldziher in his *Vorlesungen* (pp. 43 foll.) has strikingly shown how eclectic the ḥadīth is, and how it supplemented the rough Arabian ideal with milder features.‡ And here too we have the explicit confession of the Traditionists themselves that in the ascription of edificatory ḥadīth's to the Prophet, objective standards

* See Muir (new ed.), p. lxiv.

† See Sprenger III., lxxxv. for a good example of this, where one Rāfi' carried a point against Ibn 'Umar himself, and against the practice of an Abu Bakr and a Zubair, just because Ibn 'Umar would not dare to assert that Mohammed did *not* say what Rāfi' alleged he said. It is proverbially difficult to prove a negative! Sprenger (III. cx.) has also preserved for us a good example of the ease with which Ibn 'Abbās could frown down others whose productions for any reason failed to win his pleasure, even when, as in that case, they were taken straight out of older literature. What chance, by the way, had genuine Bible stories under this system ?

‡ Das Ḥadīth ist auch das Organ für jene zärtere Regungen des ethischen Sinnes, für welche die bewegte Zeit des entstehenden, immer kämpfenden Islams noch nicht bestimmt war.

were cast to the winds. Just as the Jewish schools ascribe as a matter of course to Moses on the Mount any edificatory remark of doctors down to the latest times,* so is Mohammed made the mouthpiece of any and every Good Word. These are most important consideration points, and we must not fail to give the facts on which they are based.

(*a*) The law-normative traditions are, in good sooth (as we shall see in a moment), precarious enough, and their isnād's worth little or nothing: what then shall we say to such a remark as this:—

"If we had related to us as coming from Mohammed traditions dealing with things allowable or prohibited, or the practice or decisions (of the Prophet), then we would be strict about the isnād's; but *if we had related to us as coming from the Prophet traditions dealing with virtuous actions, then we would be lax about the isnâd's.*†

(*b*) An Nawawī, the commentator on Muslim, the traditionist, says outright that in the criticism of edificatory ḥadīth's a certain *musâmaḥa* ("indulgence") is permissible. Such a tradition may well be "weak," he says, "but one need not have qualms about it."‡ What exceedingly liberal advantage al Ghazālī took of this principle has been remarked by even Moslem students of his works.

(*c*) How utterly unscrupulous a good Moslem could be about edificatory traditions is shown by the confession of a certain Abū 'Ismat al Jāmi', who used to quote a number of sayings attributed to Mohammed about the special merits and excellences ascribed by him to various Koransūra's, with—*bien entendu*—one of the finest possible isnād's attached (namely, through 'Ikrima to Ibn 'Abbās) (see the table). Hear the reply of this ingenuous person to a searching question thereanent: "Abū 'Ismat was asked where he got that tradition from which he had traced back to 'Ikrima and Ibn 'Abbās, when no

* *Vorlesungen*, p. 47.

† idha ruwīnā 'an rasūli llāhi fil ḥalāli wal ḥarāmi was sunani wal 'aḥkām shaddadnā fil 'asānīd, wa 'idha ruwīnā 'an rasūli llāhi fi faḍā'ili l 'a'māl tasahalnā fil 'asānīd.—Moh. St., II. 154.

‡ ḥadīthun ḍa'īfun lākin yusta'nasu bihi.

such tradition had ever been handed on by the contemporaries of 'Ikrima themselves. He replied: 'I have observed that men are turning from the Koran and prefer to occupy themselves with the jurisprudence of Abū Hanīfa and the "Campaigns" (*maghazī*) of Ibn Isḥāq.' And I, therefore, palmed off this saying in honourable purpose (*ḥisbatan*) in order to gain men back to the Koran." Precisely the same proceeding was confessed to by a whole community of Mystics (Ṣūfī's) in Basra, who admitted having "forged an utterance of the Prophet's in order to make men's hearts susceptible to the Koran."*

(*d*) The fact is that any and every pious remark that caught the fancy of Moslems was attributable as a matter of course to Mohammed. Heathen chivalrous or wise sayings, Old Testament, Gospel, or other texts, found their way mysteriously into the Traditions (see Moh. St. II. 156, 157, etc.). A regular practice was made for "carrying up" of the isnād's of such sayings to the Prophet. When this had been satisfactorily accomplished they were called *marf'û*, "carried up," and adepts at this practice had the special name of *raffâ'*.

(*e*) In particular one or two traditions are ascribed to Mohammed which completely give the game away, and warrant our most complete scepticism in regard to the more Golden-Treasury portions of the "Table-talk" of Mohammed. We give two such remarks, and will leave them to speak for themselves; they are sufficiently eloquent:—

"Whatever good word has been said, *I* said it."†

"After my departure will sayings attributed to me multiply, as they did in regard to the former Prophets also. Therefore whatever saying anyone transmits as mine must be compared with the Book of Allah; and whatsoever is in harmony therewith is from me *whether I myself said it or not*."‡

* Moh. St., II. 155, 156. In connection with this group we may briefly mention the group of traditions connected with the exegesis of the Koran. It will be enough to say that Ibn 'Abbās is the father of Koran exegesis, and that he made a specialty of traditions thereanent. The evident puerility of many of them is thus explained; and their worthlessness needs no further demonstration.

† *Mā qîla min qawlin ḥasanin fa 'ana qultuhu.* Ibn Mājā, Intr., pp. 4-9. Cf., Goldziher, Moh. St. II. 49, note.

‡ Al-Jahiz *Bayán*, quoted by Goldziher, ib. The whole text will be found in the book al-Insāf already quoted, p. 112. The important words are the last sentence: *fa-huwa 'anni qultuhu aw lam aqulhu.*

So much for the objectivity of the fine sayings attributed to the Prophet by enthusiasts of the East—and West.

4. In regard to purely domestic details, it is more difficult to pass a judgment. The traditions which refer to many of them are ascribed to 'Ā'isha, whose later unprofitable years were largely spent in talk on such matters. Many of them may, therefore, be false. The matter is of no importance except in regard to ḥadīth, which *to us* represent the Prophet in an unfavourable, even a disgusting, light. The more Moslems of to-day discover that the ethical sense of the world agrees in condemning these, the more they will doubtless take refuge in just this modern critique of the ḥadīth to save their Prophet and religion from the stigma.* Obviously no convincing proof can be brought either way. But two things may fairly be said :—

(1) there would have been no particular motive in relating these stories if they were not true ; at least if there was, it is not easy for an Occidental to discern it ; and (2) they are at least a revelation of the state of mind of the earliest—and most pious Moslems, and the actions which they could quite comfortably and even proudly ascribe to their Prophet. They show what these men thought of him, and they reveal the moral ideal and ethical taste with which he had inspired them. One contrasts the deeds ascribed by the Disciples to Christ, even if we were to suppose that both these and those were equally apocryphal !

(5) Hadīth's that are normative for canon-law (*fiqh*) must be regarded with the deepest suspicion, in spite of the remark already quoted (p. 356), that such traditions were very much more carefully sifted and tested than edificatory ones. So much the worse for the latter ! For indeed in no branch of ḥadīth did more unblushing forgery go on than in this one, as has been proved cumu-

* The writer remembers the indignation with which one such Moslem repudiated the *traditional* account of the Zainab transaction, on the ground that a far more favourable construction was placed on it in the Koran ! Al Wāqidī and others, he complained, had foisted gross stories on to the biography of the Prophet.

latively by Goldziher in his monumental essay. The very fact that the earliest school of systematic legists (that of 'Irāq under Abū Sulaimān, d. 120, and his pupil Abū Ḥanīfa, d. 150) dispensed very largely with traditions as data, gives food for thought. Their excessively sparing use of these was certainly not due (as some have imagined) to any theoretic objection to using the *sunna* of Mohammed as normative for law. As a later member of the school takes pains to show, Abū Ḥanīfa equalled the most out-and-out members of the *sunna* schools of legists in his reverence for the *sunna* of Mohammed, and of the Companions also, *when undoubted traditions thereon were obtainable.* And indeed no school was in greater need of amplifying the scanty data of the Koran, for it was precisely the ancient civilisation of 'Irāq which felt most keenly the insufficiency of the legislative hints and scraps supplied by the Koran, suitable enough to the somewhat barbarous environment of the Ḥijāz, but not to the ancient and elaborate civilisations of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia. The only possible inference is that either these *fiqh* ḥadīth's had not yet been brought into existence, or that Abū Ḥanīfa scorned to employ such palpable fictions. And so the school fell back upon methods summed up by the word *opinion* (*ra'y*), viz.: *qiyās* (analogical deduction from Koran or Tradition*) and *istiḥsān* (practically, private judgment as to what regulation was or was not beneficial and in general keeping with the spirit of Islām). It is indeed ironically humorous that the very ḥadīth's on which this supposedly anti-ḥadīth school relied to justify this *ra'y* method were rejected (and rightly !) by their opponents—now critical for once—as spurious.†

The sparingness of the earliest fiqh school in the use of ḥadīth is then a bad omen. And the omen is fulfilled by the event. The slavishly pious trend of Mohammedan sentiment was wholly dissatisfied with the *ra'y* method. More and more it craved for authoritative guidance, both

* Showing how erroneous is the notion that Abū Ḥanīfa differed theoretically from any other Moslem of the time in respect of placing Koran and Sunna in a position of absolute *practical* equality in inspiration and authority. † Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, pp. 9, 10.

positive and negative, in regard to the smallest details of life; and, therefore, in the total silence of the Koran upon multitudes of such points, the demands upon the ḥadīth for supplementary details became unending and insatiable. And we have already seen that given a demand there was literally nothing to check the supply. School vied with school in producing ḥadīth to support its opinions (the later collections themselves, such as those of al-Bukhārī, and the rest were simply proof-text-books for the support of this or that school of law). Finally, even the Ḥanīfites were drawn into the current, and were forced to clear themselves of the old reproach by producing traditions as merrily as the rest, in order to buttress the very opinions with which one or two generations before had been strong enough to dispense.

Quite contrary to fact is the claim (see above) that traditions which are normative for fiqh were scrutinized with special severity; and this on the showing of the legists themselves.

(1) Al Baghawī, in his introduction to the ḥadīth-anthology named *Maṣabîḥ as Sunna*, confesses that "the majority of traditions normative for law depend upon only *second-class* isnād's*; (*ḥasan*, "good," as opposed to the first-class, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, flawless.)

(2) Mālik b. Anas, the founder of the second of the four systems of jurisprudence, the one which represents the reaction against Abū Ḥanīfa in favour of *sunna*, accepts without question traditions known as *marâsīl* and *maqâtî'*—*i.e.*, those which, purporting to come from Mohammed, are not carried by their isnād's right up to him, and those whose isnād's exhibit a break in one or more places. Yet Muslim, writing as a critic a century later, can lay it down that traditions of the former class (and a portion of the latter) are "according to our principles, and those of proficients in traditional science not to be accepted as proofs!"†

* *aktharu l 'aḥkām thubūtuhā bi ṭarīq ḥasan.* Goldziher (Moh. St., II. 250) in quoting this remarks that otherwise it would have been wholly impossible to supply sufficient material to make a Corpus Legum.

† Quoted by Goldziher, Moh. St., II., 218, "*Wal mursalu fi 'aṣlî qawlina wa qawli 'ahli l 'ilmi bil 'akhbārī laysa bi ḥujjatin.*"

With such rickety foundations, what becomes of the objective relevancy and authority of the gigantic superstructure of the sharī'a ? The pillars of the sharī'a are said to be four—Koran, Tradition, Consensus (*ijmā'*) and Analogy (*qiyās*). The objective value of the *second* of them we have now seen. And we have also seen that the very traditions which justify the use of the *fourth* were disputed. To which add the astounding fact that the famous tradition* which justifies the use of the *third* (*ijmâ'*) is not so much as referred to in the very book in which ash-Shāfi'ī, who himself introduced this very principle of *ijmâ'* as normative, lays down his principia !† In other words, it, too, is a forgery, for Shafi'ī's silence about it is otherwise wholly inexplicable, and the validity of the principle of *ijmâ'* is thus correspondingly weakened. The corpus legum of Islam may be a true transcript of the spirit of Islam ; but as for its being constructed from materials supplied by *Mohammed*, it is a monstrous deception. No wonder that the rationalising Moslems of to-day are showing a disposition to throw over the orthodox *systems* of jurisprudence altogether, and to start afresh, recognising the Koran as practically the sole source of authoritative data, and relying, for the rest, upon the human intellect working by ijtihād ; that is to say, guided by common sense and the general drift of the Koran in all cases where the Koranic oracle is silent.‡

It need not be expected, however, that such men will really be more liberal than the conservatives. Their position would admittedly compel them to execute the letter of the most hopelessly impossible Koranic precepts—*e.g.*, the cutting off of the right hand for theft.

We repeat, the Sharī'a, in so far as it is considered the Law given by Allah through Mohammed, is a colossal illusion, considering that so much of the material which constituted it was the invention of unscrupulous men.

* " My people will never agree upon an error," *lan tajtami'a ummatī āla khaṭa'*.

† Namely, the *Risālat ash Shāfi'ī*.

‡ Thus coming back somewhat to the position of Abū Ḥanīfa. As one of them said to the writer, " I recognise none of the *madhhab's*, but my position would resemble that of Abū Ḥanīfa more than any other."

We cannot too deeply ponder the reasoning of that Baghdad disputant* of the second century A.H., quoted in the Appendix:

'I replied: "O Commander of the Faithful, what you sought by your argument was to make an imputation against the *Prophet* and against what he has related." He then asked, "How is that, woe betide you!" I replied, "*If his Companions are liars, the sharī'a is false*, and the obligatory duties and orders in connection with prayer, fasting, the pilgrimage, marriage and divorce, and prohibitory ordinances, are all *to be rejected and not accepted because the Companions were the relators of them, and they are only known to us through their medium.*"'

No one suggests that the Companions thought of tampering with the *Koran*. But in so far as these words allude to the *Ḥadîth*, a straight issue is raised by them which we feel strongly inclined to accept, replying: "Many of the Companions *were* liars in the ḥadīth; therefore a very large proportion of the sharī'a *is*, objectively, false."

III.

Tradition and Gospel.

Apart from all questions connected with inspiration, the Gospels may be compared with the Ḥadīth from this viewpoint, that each claims to give an account of the doings and sayings of the Founder of a Religion. The question we now wish to raise is, how do the two—if we admit that they are to this extent in one category—compare for authenticity and reliability?

Modern criticism, led by Harnack, tends, we believe, more and more to fix the date of the Synoptic Gospels as from about 65 to about 80 A.D.—corresponding roughly to the earliest years of the Umayyads. The Pauline Epistles correspond roughly to the Khalifate of 'Ali and a little beyond. When we realise that the earliest extant biography (*sîra*) of Mohammed corresponds to the middle of Irenaeus' career, and that al-Bukhārī is as far from Mohammed as the death of Origen is from Christ, we realise at once what an immense initial advantage, from this point of view, the New Testament records have over those embodied in the *Sîra* of Ibn Isḥāq or the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.

* Ad Damīrī, Ḥayawān, Eng. Trans., I. 647.

The fifteen years of this synoptist period, between 65 and 80, correspond to the *earlier part of 'Urwa's* career. 'Urwa was the son of the well-known Companion Zubair, who died when 'Urwa was about eleven years old. He was also the nephew of 'Ā'isha, and was the chief medium through whom her traditions were passed down to posterity (very largely through Zuhrī, the pupil of 'Urwa). Now this 'Urwa is said to have been one of the first, if not the very first, who *wrote out* a collection of the records about Mohammed. But it has not survived, for he himself destroyed it. The relics of 'Urwa's purely historical work, which have been preserved in Ibn Isḥāq and Tabarī's histories, show us how much we have lost. His mother's client, Ibn 'Uqba (d. 141 A.H.), was the author of one of the earliest and most reliable of the biographies.* Unfortunately it also is not extant; but as Ibn 'Uqba was a contemporary of Ibn Isḥāq, the latter may have utilised his work.

But in comparing the Synoptist period with the 'Urwa period, there are a number of points which must be strongly *contrasted.*

(1) 'Urwa had not the advantage of consulting the really first-rate Companions. He was under twelve when his father was killed, and of the rest 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar was the only Companion from whom he could have gained any very reliable information, for we have seen that the quartet—'Ā'isha, Ibn 'Abbās, Abū Huraira, and Anas b. Mālik—were as likely to supply him with fiction as with fact, and no doubt did supply him liberally with both. The Synoptists, on the other hand, either *were* "Companions" (Matthew, if we accept his authorship; Mark, if we identify him with the young man of Mark 12); or were contemporary with the very chiefest of the "Companions" and were in intimate fellowship with them. Of Mark we are expressly told that he was in closest touch with Peter when he wrote his Memoir, while Luke explicitly informs us that his information was *delivered* to him by "eye-witnesses and ministers of the word." Well might he boast, then, that he had "traced the course of all things accurately from the first."

* Sprenger III., lxvii.

(2) Though the practice of making written notes of ḥadīth's was quite an old one in Islam, still 'Urwa's destruction of *his*,* with the exclamation, "We will have no book save the Book of Allah," shows that they could have had no circulation. On the other hand, Luke tells us that lying behind his book were *many* other *narratives*, which had been *drawn up*, just like his own, in strict accord with the deliverances of "*the eye witnesses and ministers of the Word.*" This fact does not indeed bring Luke nearer to Christ, for he was already in touch with Him through the "Companions." But it shows that the practice of writing out the catechetical lessons† received from "Apostles" and "Teachers" was a very early one indeed; that it was freely done at a time when Apostle and Teacher could and doubtless did check what was recorded; and that the extant memoir of Luke, itself embodying the deliverances of Companions, was by a man who had access, also, to many of such written records.

(3) At the back of this work of the Synoptists we have the Epistles of Paul, a contemporary (though not a Companion) of Christ, and a colleague of His Companions; the main message of which epistles presupposes, takes for granted, and necessitates the essential teaching of the Gospels. And there were epistles like that of Peter himself also, and other Companions, which likewise involve that teaching.

(4) We cannot help contrasting the character of these men, and their work and times, with those of the men who correspond to them on the Moslem side of the chart. These men were shedding their blood for their testimony to the Death and Resurrection of Christ at a time corresponding to that in which those others were shedding *each other's* blood for personal rivalries and worldly advantages. We mention together 'Ā'isha—and the Virgin Mary; Anas—and John; Ibn 'Abbās—and Peter; Abū Huraira—and Mark . . . *Nastaghfirullâh!* We beg our readers' pardon.

(5) We have seen that it would be a mistake to

* See Sprenger III., lxii.

† "The things in which thou wast 'catechised.'" Luke i. 4.

think that the ascription of miraculous incidents to Mohammed was the act of *later* generations of Moslems. Sprenger shows clearly (III., lvii.) that it had its rise among the Companions themselves; that Anas, for example, related the Ascent-myth exactly as it has come down to us. We disbelieve these men, rightly. But then, should we not also, therefore, be ready to disbelieve the accounts of the "Companions" of Jesus?

The two cases are not parallel. The Koran denies the miracles; but no account that has ever come to us of Jesus has even hinted but that His whole career moved on the supernatural plane. The miracles ascribed to Mohammed are but romantic *trimmings*. Those ascribed to Jesus are the warp and woof of the whole narrative. The miracles formed no essential part of the first announcement of Islam to the world, which was the Unity of God, the prophethood of Mohammed, and the absolute authority of the Koran. But from the first moment of the world-career of the Christian community we discover it putting its entire life into the announcement of one all-embracing miracle, namely, that Jesus died and rose again on the third day, and sealing that witness with its blood. This witness, THIS *shahāda*, is the thing in Christianity which, like the *Kalima* of the Moslems, has come down from the very beginning, from all, through all (*tawâtur*); the thing that has the consensus of all the Companions and the whole Community (*ijmâ'*); the catholic kernel of the whole religion, *quod ab omnibus, quod semper, quod ubique*.

Very few, if any, of the Mohammedan traditions fulfil the postulates of *tawâtur* (*i.e.*, that which has come down from the beginning, guaranteed not by chains of individual traditions, but by a chain of unanimous generations). The difference between *this* sort of guarantee and that which vouched for even the soundest ('ṣaḥīḥ') tradition was recognised by the Moslems themselves.* We begin to perceive that the very existence of isnād's is a sign of weakness, not of strength, not merely because (as we have already seen) they were actually, or were liable to be, tampered with, but because they are a standing

* See an important passage in Moh. St., II. 258.

confession of the fact that the tradition in question was *not* by *tawâtur*, was not the common property of every generation of Moslems from the very first; was not, therefore, riveted into the rock itself, but connected therewith by a chain which could never be wholly relied on as equally sound throughout.

But, this being so, we have won our way through to a most important result, namely, that the absence of isnād's in the Gospels, which at first seemed a sign of weakness compared with the Hadīth, is now seen to be a sign of strength. We should have begun to be suspicious if there *had* been isnād's. If the earliest Gospel had been published in Irenaeus's time (corresponding to Ibn Isḥāq) and the earliest collection of authorised Logia had been put together in Origen's time (corresponding to Aḥmad and al-Bukhārī), and each paragraph of both had been supplied with a fine pedigree . . . *then* we might well have doubted, and doubted darkly. But what are the facts? Here we have, between Pentecost and the death of Paul, a community stretching from Jerusalem to Rome, with local bodies in closest touch with each other, continually visited by the chief officers of the church and others who were "eye-witnesses and ministers of the word"; we have circles of catechumens, with a regular order of "Teachers," teaching their pupils (like Theophilus) the acts and words of Jesus; we have the authenticity of that teaching guaranteed by the fact that these teachers were either Companions themselves, or were in touch with Companions and with each other, so that any serious deviation from the Authorised Version was impossible; we have "many" making notes in writing of these teachings and arranging them into some sort of order; and finally we have Three, fully contemporaries of the Companions, arranging "the things that have been fully established among us even as they delivered them unto us who were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word" into completer and better arranged Memoirs; and doing this, moreover, while at least a few of the chief Companions are still alive. What does all this mean? It means that these Gospels were simply the committal to writing of the Acts and Words of Christ, as they had

been taught and preached from the very outset, in the age of, and (morally or actually) under the eye of, these chief Companions. The addition of isnād's would have been impossible. Whose names should be put down when *all* witnessed ? And of what use is a chain to connect an object with a rock, when that object already is into the rock-matrix indissolubly riveted ?

The substance of the Gospels—if we fix our attention on their records as a whole and not on individual verses—has come to us by *tawâtur*, the unbroken usage of all the ages from the very first, and represents to us both the *ijmâ is Ṣaḥâba* and the *ijmâ' al 'umma*, that is to say, both Apostolic and Catholic consensus.* In point of *contemporaneousness with source*, they go altogether beyond the best attested ḥadīth, and can only be compared in this respect, if we take them as a whole, with the Koran.

Thus Islam conducts us to a Book which truly was given forth by its founder. Christianity conducts us to a Christ who truly lived, wrought, taught, died, rose again on the third day and passed away alive into the Unseen.

Cairo. W. H. T. GAIRDNER.

* True, they had to fight for their place in the second century when Gnostics tried to confuse the apostolic and catholic version. But so—though to less extent—had the Koran, when for " Gnostics " read 'Ālids (see Moh. St., II. III.). The Gnostic attempt merely served to give the Community a more intellectual realisation of what the apostolic deposit really was.

'UTHMAN AND THE RECENSION OF THE KORAN

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[In a recent number we availed ourselves of the kind permission of Prince Leone Caetani to publish a translation of an essay out of his "Annali dell' Islam." The following article is another such translation taken from the recently published seventh volume. The first part is much abridged, it being necessary for considerations of space to omit some most illuminating summaries and criticisms of the views of such scholars as Auguste Müller, Nöldeke, and Karl Vollers. The gist of the essay is to show first that there are sufficient reasons for believing that the Koran as we have it to-day, though not necessarily falsified in any vicious sense, at any time, does not represent the *ipsissima verba* of Mohammed; secondly, that the famous first recension under Abu Bakr and 'Umar is a myth, at any rate as regards its official promulgation as the unique exemplar; thirdly, that the recension of 'Uthman was undertaken more from political than religious motives; and fourthly, incidentally to revise our opinion of 'Uthman's character. The first is supported by the contention of Vollers, that a development in the language, apart from the subject matter, of the Koran, can be upheld on purely philological grounds. Caetani, therefore, recapitulates his arguments briefly and accepts his main conclusion. We note that no allusion is made to the theory of Casanova (see review, MOSLEM WORLD, January, 1915) that finality was not arrived at till a still later recension in the time of Al-Hajjaj, which would seem to receive indirect support from Vollers.—R. F. MCNEILE.]

THE Koran was not collected during the prophet's life time; this is clearly stated by good authorities. Those who are enumerated as collectors can certainly have collected only a part, for otherwise there is no explanation of the great pains to which the three Caliphs, Abu Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthman, put themselves after Mohammed's death to produce the single official text of the prophet's revelations.

The tradition of the first compilation in the reign of Abu Bakr is usually accepted without questioning, but an examination of the account quickly betrays certain contradictions. Thus, if the death of so many Moslems at al Yamamah endangered the preservation of the text, why did Abu Bakr, after making his copy, practically

conceal it, entrusting it to the guardianship of a woman ? Hafsah's copy seems, in fact, to be an invention to justify the corrections of that subsequently compiled under 'Uthman. I allow, however, the probability that in the time of Abu Bakr and 'Umar, quite independently of the battle of al Yamamah, a copy of the Koran was prepared at Medina, perhaps at 'Umar's suggestion, exactly as others were compiled in the provinces, those, namely, which were afterwards destroyed by order of 'Uthman. It may be that the copy in Medina had a better guarantee of authenticity ; while the statement that in the text prepared by Abu Bakr and 'Umar no verse was accepted which was not authenticated by at least two witnesses, who declared that they had themselves heard it from the prophet, leads us to suppose that already in the first Koranic compilation other verses were suppressed which had not the required support.

If this statement can be accepted as authentic, it would indicate—as is perfectly natural and possible—that even while Mohammed lived, or at least immediately after his death, there were in circulation verses either apocryphal or erroneously attributed to the prophet. It seems to me equally likely that in the texts made in the provinces (those, that is to say, that were destroyed by 'Uthman) there should have crept in apocryphal or insufficiently authenticated verses, or others which the prophet and his most interested friends and Companions did not want to see preserved. Moslem traditionists for obvious reasons have tried to eliminate every kind of suspicion in this direction, for that would open an enormous field for dangerous insinuations and conjectures in countries so fertile in invention as the East. They try, accordingly, to make out that the divergences were solely in minutiæ of the text or in single letters, so as not to compromise the text as it stands to-day or admit the existence of other verses either lost or suppressed. The small number of verses which tradition will allow to be doubtful seem to me little pieces of traditionist fraud, adduced to show the scrupulous exactness of the first compiler and the absolute security of the official text.

The official canonical redaction undertaken at 'Uthman's command, was due to the uncertainty which reigned in reference to the text. It is clear that in the year 30 A.H. no official redaction existed. Tradition itself admits that there were various "schools," one in Irak, one in Syria, one in al Basrah, besides others in smaller places, and then, exaggerating in an orthodox sense this scandal, tries to make out that the divergences were wholly immaterial; but such affirmations accord ill with the opposition excited by the Caliph's act in al Kufah. The official version must have contained somewhat serious modifications.

These general observations, however, do not touch on the political and moral aspect of the official compilation of the Koran under 'Uthman. In point of fact, this act, though apparently of a purely religious nature, was intimately bound up with matters of the highest importance in the history of Islam. To explain how this can be, we must first examine the origin and position of a new class of the Islamic community, those known as the *Kurra*, or Koran-readers.

It is greatly to be deplored that tradition is so dumb on the subject of how this new and singular class of Moslems first sprang into existence. They were the principal agitators in the revolt against 'Uthman, and in the civil strife which dyed Islam with blood only five and twenty years after the prophet had passed away. If we knew with greater precision what they really were, how they were constituted, and how they acquired such influence over the people, we should have in our hand the key that would at once unlock the door of many mysteries connected with the tragedy in Medina in the year 35, with the arbitration of Adhruh in 38, and with the first Kharijite revolts. Unfortunately the knowledge we have is very vague.

The origin of the Readers reaches back to the prophet, and springs from some practical system (though passed over in silence by tradition) by which Mohammed created a category of persons specially instructed in Koranic revelation. The silence of tradition on these first steps in Koranic doctrine is due to the slight importance

attached by Moslems themselves to such mental exercises so long as the prophet lived, who, as the prime source of all divine knowledge, could easily give light to any member of the community who needed it. In the prophet's time there was no real work of proselytism or Koranic propaganda in the sense intended by Moslem missionaries in later times. Hence we are forced to mistrust much of what traditions have to say on this. Mohammed's agents in the various parts of Arabia had functions specially political, fiscal or economic, military and diplomatic, and only in part religious. To be assured of this we need only remember that to Eastern Arabia Mohammed sent 'Amr b. al 'As and al 'Ala b. al Hadrami, two political Companions, in no way remarkable for religious practice or knowledge of the Koran. The traditions on the mission to the Yemen, correctly interpreted, lead to the same conclusion, though it may be that Mohammed's representatives there, owing to the special nature of the population, had more minute instructions with regard to religious matters than the others. We must never lose sight of the fact that the traditions of later times have given an intensely religious colour to all the memories of primitive Islam, and so have transformed into missionaries of Islam many of those who in reality were only ambassadors, spies, or political agents, exactors of tribute on behalf of the Lord of Medina. Mohammed regarded propaganda as his own peculiar work, and did not care for others to assume in that regard any delegation of his highest functions. Hence came about the numerous embassies from the tribes to Medina. Islamic truth must be learned immediately from the mouth of the prophet, and for the rest a formal adhesion and the payment of certain fiscal dues sufficed for the tribe to be unquestionably considered as Moslem.

On the Prophet's death all this was radically changed through the fear which the surviving Companions felt of losing the sacred Koranic text, which was the foundation of Islam as a political as well as a religious, institution. The spectacular triumphs of Moslem arms and the astounding extension of their rule were regarded

as the direct effects of the Prophet's own work and teaching, which accordingly elicited a keen interest both among nominal Moslems, converted as they were for the most part in name only, and among those who found their place in the community simply as subjects. The political, moral and financial advantages which the name of Moslem conferred, drew the attention of all the conquered, so that what during the life time of Mohammed and the revolt of the tribes in the Riddah had been considered a burden and a humiliation, was magically elevated into an honourable estate, the coveted sign of political power. Islam was changed into a moral and religious emblem which all Arabs became proud to wear. With their public adherence to Islam, the Arabs implicitly affirmed themselves to be masters of that region of Western Asia. The moral force of this sentiment, which constituted a valuable bond of union and cohesion in the anarchic unity of Arabia, was dimly foreseen by the sagacity of the first Caliphs, especially 'Umar, who aimed by his political injunction at establishing the sentiment that Moslems constituted one great and single family. To this sentiment, therefore, it was necessary to supply a more secure and lasting moral foundation, so as to prevent it from vanishing away after the first intoxication of victory ; it was necessary to create a doctrine and a rite, to act as instruments for the preservation of social discipline and moral unity among the Moslems.

So long as Mohammed lived his daily example and his word supplied every need. When he was gone, the heads of the community were forced to take steps to supply the great lack. We are so accustomed to regard Islam as an institution in itself, powerfully constituted, independent of any personal control like that of a pope, that we are apt to go astray in estimating the earliest period of transition. We do not sufficiently bear in mind that the Islam of Mohammed was a creation of an absolutely personal description, concentrated in and founded almost entirely upon his own individuality, upon his continual, daily, personal support. In his Koranic revelations he made no real provision for the future of the community, or for the moment in which

the founder or master would disappear. Mohammed's successors were thus called upon to undertake the immense task of transforming Islam into an autonomous, impersonal institution, based upon the consensus of all the members of the community itself. The story of the caliphates of 'Uthman, 'Umar, and 'Ali is the story of this initial and most difficult process of transformation, and of the gloomy experiences by which the gaps in the Prophet's ordinances were filled up and the mistakes of his first successors corrected. Thus it was necessary to provide a head of the community, to fix his prerogatives and the relations which were to hold between him and the other members of the community; in fact, to create out of nothing a grand state-administration. The task would have been difficult enough if the Islamic rule had remained confined to the little kingdom of Medina as Mohammed left it; the difficulty was a hundredfold increased with the conquest and foundation of an immense empire. Everything had to be improvised, from minutiæ to the greatest matters. Among other things the functions of governors in distant provinces, where the Arabs had established themselves, had to be defined. It had to be determined what these governors must accomplish to keep alive the Islamic sentiment and moral unity of their dependents. Thus the Friday assembly, which had been a personal weekly function on the part of the Prophet, was transformed into a regular, public, impersonal function, at which it was the duty of the governor, in the absence of the Caliph, to preside. A special ceremonial, therefore, had to be devised whereby the governor first assumed and then exercised his controlling function in the administration. As the Friday service was also a religious function formerly presided over by Mohammed, so also in the provinces the governor, taking the place of the prophet, must preside over the collective prayers. To the political was indissolubly united the religious function of the community.

The general lines of these functions of the governorship may indeed have been indicated by the Prophet himself to his Companions when he sent them on an expedition; but the instructions were incomplete because

the command of expeditions, or Mohammed's lieutenancies in Medina when he was absent on a war, were exceptional creations and lasted but for a short period. Every one returned before long to Medina, and only in the presence of the Prophet was the true and complete Friday ceremony. The conquest, transforming as it did the expedition of a few days or weeks into a permanent occupation and emigration, brought into being new exigencies of which Mohammed had never dreamed. Not only the Caliphs, but the greater part of the Moslem society, felt keenly the immediate need of an internal and moral organisation of Islam as a ceremonial doctrine. Precisely from such need sprang the special class of persons who, under the name of *Al Qurra*, assumed the task of spreading the knowledge of Islamic doctrine, of the precedents established by the Prophet, and more than all, of the Koran, the one base of the new doctrine since the disappearance of the founder.

Around the person of Mohammed there had arisen in Medina a class of men who had acquired, thanks to their being continually with the Prophet, a fairly complete knowledge of the Koranic revelations and of all the customs and rules of life, culled from the reformer. On Mohammed's death, each of these naturally established himself as a teacher of whatever he knew and remembered. Wherever Arabs settled, there migrated naturally some of these reciters, who served not only to instruct the Arab masses gathered under the banner of Islam without ever having seen the Prophet, but also to educate other *Qurra*, and to form small separate schools in every important settlement of Arabs in the conquered provinces.

At first the work of propaganda and systematic instruction, given almost always by the oral method, was carried on in a sufficiently ordered manner under the sole direction of the Caliph, who kept an eye on all. They were Companions who, in the interest of the community, performed this work as a sacrifice for the social welfare. Then, however, with the dazzling growth of the Empire, with the astounding multiplication of Islamic centres and the increased need of these instruc-

tors, there grew up a special class of men, pupils of the first, who, while inferior to them, were inspired more or less with sincere religious sentiment, but at the same time were bent on availing themselves of their learning to assure themselves an easier sustenance than they could get from their pension alone. Among good and sincere men there crept in hypocrites, agitators, adventurers, who acted each for himself, looking to his own interest, or to what from his own particular point of view was the interest of the community. An institution good in its inception quickly became a danger for the concord and political unity of the Moslems.

Not only did local and particularist tendencies appear, not only did these propagators of Islam assume an independent and rebellious attitude towards the central authority, believing themselves authorised to criticise and to dictate laws to the Caliph himself and to his governors; but also in their instructions there appeared discrepancies in ritual; variations in the sacred text, which very few knew perfectly, began to assert themselves on every side.

The Readers must not, however, be considered as a class of people wholly distinct from others, marked off by their profession; there was no closed circle of specialists. Anyone who had some knowledge, even superficial or partial, of the text, could act as Reader for such part as he knew. They did not form a political party, for they were found in every class and in every place, among the Syrians as much as the men of 'Iraq. Still, owing to the special condition of Moslem society at this early period, the *Qurra* acquired a social influence and importance which was not retained in succeeding generations, when Islamic culture had spread far and wide and there had arisen so many other kinds of doctors and teachers of the people. The number of those who dedicated themselves to this profession, the influence which they acquired over the masses, and the direction which they gave to the general discontent, quickly became a source of serious preoccupation in Medina. The knowledge they claimed of the sacred text gave them a prestige which in many cases may even have raised them in the estimation

of the populace above the Caliph's governors, who, for the most part, were uncultured men, living continually under arms and ignorant of the Koran. We need only mention the famous Khalid b. al Walid, who made a boast of his ignorance of the Koran.

At the moment of which we speak, the leaders of the secret agitation against the government were precisely *al Qurra*, making use of their pretended culture as a weapon for opposition and criticism against the actions of the governor, so giving the movement a general and democratic character, which rendered it peculiarly difficult to watch and keep in check. The Caliph 'Uthman and his counsellors were not slow to discern all the danger of the new internal situation. The number and variety of these schools of the sacred text and of their dogmas threatened the unity of doctrine, inclination and sentiment which was indispensable for the future success of the Moslem society. In the Koran discrepancies appeared which were bound to be increased by time. Between the people and the governor there was thus interposed a class of men who arrogated to themselves rights and a moral pre-eminence, the effect of which was a kind of independence from political authority. In short, availing themselves of the doctrine which they claimed to possess in a greater and better measure than the representatives of the Caliph, they excited the populace against the executive power, and were the first to denounce, exaggerate, and even invent the errors of 'Uthman and his agents.

It was 'Uthman's unhappy lot to be called upon not only to seek a remedy for the financial blunders of his great predecessor 'Umar, but to oppose himself to all the moral consequences of the faulty direction which Islamic society was taking under the stress of adversity and bitter disappointments. It is our duty as impartial historians to affirm that even if 'Uthman was unable to grapple with the intricate political situation, if he was unfortunate in the choice of his governors and failed in his attempt to prop up the ruined finances of the Empire, yet he was entirely in the right when he tried to forestall the incipient doctrinal anarchy which threat-

ened the Islamic community, by taking energetic steps to prevent the multiplication of versions of the sacred text. The measure adopted by 'Uthman was a radical and bold one, and stands out in contrast to the reputation for weakness which tradition attaches to him in other acts of his administration.

'Uthman ordered the compilation of a single official text of the Koran, and the violent suppression, the destruction by fire of all other copies existing in the provinces. Such an act called for considerable political courage, for it was an open challenge to the whole class of the Readers and an effectual attempt to put an end to the monopoly of the sacred text that they claimed. The central government asserted its authority in this matter as well, and implicitly branded as falsifiers all who did not recite the Koran in a form identical with the official text. 'Uthman's edict was carried out with the greatest precision, for not a single copy antecedent to this official one has survived. The action raised the bitterest resentment of the Readers, and no doubt increased the ill-feeling against the Caliph ; but tradition, which would dearly have liked to speak evil of 'Uthman in this regard also, has prudently abstained here from making even the slightest insinuation against him. The subject is too delicate, and 'Uthman's action was too closely conformed to the whole spirit of later times for it to venture to protest. It should be added that even if all the existing copies of the Koran could not be traced to 'Uthman's official copy, anyone who cast aspersions on 'Uthman's action would be liable to the charge of raising doubts about the foundation of all Islam, for the Islamic world from one end to the other lives in the conviction that the text existing to-day represents the true, eternal, immutable word of God.

Tradition stands obviously at a disadvantage with regard to this delicate point, for it is bound to recognise that the official canonising of the sacred text is due to the Caliph, about whom for other reasons it has so much evil to say in the effort to excuse the conduct of his successor 'Ali, the Benjamin of orthodox tradition. These considerations explain the anxiety of traditionists

to invent a previous compilation of the sacred text during the reign of the unimpeachable Abu Bakr, the perfect and saintly Caliph, for in this way 'Uthman appears only as the copier of the text left by Abu Bakr.

The steps taken by 'Uthman and his effort to strike boldly at a powerful class of his subjects in a period of political effervescence strongly tinged with religious passion, show up his rule in a new light. He is not the timid man who gives way first to his relations and then to the crowd of malcontents, but the sovereign who, for reasons of his own, issues an injunction and sees that it is completely carried out in the face of a strong agitation. We come, therefore, indirectly to infer that tradition has travestied the character of the Caliph, and that though he may have been weak towards his own family and in some circumstances of minor import, he was, on the other hand, a man of valour and energy in a way that has not as a rule been recognised. His administration no longer appears as though dictated by the mind of a decrepit old man; it was rather an honest and courageous attempt to face an internal revolution which was well matured and finally burst out not through the errors of the Caliph and his friends and relations, but as the result of previous irretrievable blunders which 'Uthman had had no opportunity to control.

LEONE CAETANI.

AN OLD TURKI MANUSCRIPT OF THE KORAN

Reprinted by permission from "The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," Manchester, April, 1915, as a valuable addition to the account of Koran Translations in our last issue.—Ed.

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In the eastern parts of the country from which the actual Turks came, the inhabitants spoke the Uighur language of the Kudatku Bilik, or the so-called old Turki. This language has but slight affinity with the Osmanli Turkish used by the Turks in their official acts from the fifteenth century onwards. The modern Turkish has a nearer ancestor in the language known as Chaghatāi, constituted in a literary form principally by the poet Mir 'Ali Shīr (906 A.H.). Even this last language a Turk of our days would hardly understand. The most common words are generally very different in their morphological form and in their lexicographic formation. For instance, the word used to express "God" is in modern Turkish either the Persian Khuda or the Arabic Allah, but I doubt whether many Turks of Constantinople or the neighbouring districts are able to understand the word Tinkri of the Chaghatāi.

At the time when the Turkish hordes settled in Asia Minor and pushed forward their success until the Byzantine hegemony was definitively overthrown in Stambūl and in the lands situated in the south-western parts of the surrounding seas, a thick mist of ignorance enveloped their most enlightened circles. The constant intercourse with civilised nations occasioned, however, among them a progressive and salutary feeling towards scientific questions which gave their neighbours an unapproachable superiority. The first step in this direction was taken on the ground of their ancestral literature, and the poems of Mir 'Ali Shīr and of Bāber became the subject of the studies of many a Turkish patriot.

This language roused even greater interest among classic Persians, and few indeed are the books written in it which are not represented in the language of Sa'di. Many useful lucubrations have been written by Persians to explain the philological difficulties of a language to which they were so curiously inclined. The catalogue of the British Museum and of other public libraries of Europe contain many Persian-Chaghatāi dictionaries and grammars.*

The Turki language is on its broad lines fairly well understood by orientalists. The Persians have smoothed the path of our access to it, and for this we are grateful to them. On this subject, the lexicographical works of the eminent orientalists, Vambéry, Zenker, and Pavet de Courteille, which explain hundreds of difficult words, are viewed with great esteem by their successors.

Of the old Uighur language of the semi-Mongols who inhabited the south-western parts of Manchuria, little is known, owing to the scarcity of inscriptions and of historical and literary compositions referring with certainty to Eastern Mongolia. It is, in a strict sense, this last country which gave birth to the famous Gengis Khān, who destroyed the Arab Empire of the East and stifled for a long time the attempts at domination of upstart descendants of some Kurdish and Turkish eponyms. As the origin of the peoples called Mongols, Tatars, Uighurians is very obscure, some useful purpose might be served by an attempt to throw a ray of light on the point which constitutes the aim of this article.

So far as our historical knowledge goes, we may assert that the Uighurians did not found an empire, but having quickly followed the Mongols in their attempt to conquer the old world stretching from the north-eastern parts of India as far as the valley of the Euphrates, they are justly incorporated in history with their eastern conquerors, and counted as one of them. A western branch of these Uighurians, led by Tughrul and 'Othmān, occupied step by step the whole of Asia Minor, with all the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, and their

* See Ch. Rieu's "Mus. Brit. Catalog." Add. 6646; 16, 759; 2892; 1021; 1712; 1912; 404, etc.

successors were dreaming to add to their conquests the southern parts of Italy and the whole of Austria, when a complete defeat checked their audacious advance under the walls of Vienna (1683 A.D.). More than two hundred and fifty years earlier, some altercations about the right division of the occupied provinces had begun to have prejudicial results between the two clans, the old and the new, the Mongols and the Turks, and a fratricidal war (1402 A.D.) brought them to a premature exhaustion, the conclusion of which was the consolidation of the actual Empire of Persia. It would not be out of place here to remark that we believe the actual Ottomans never would have been able to settle so firmly round the littoral of the Black Sea, if the Eastern Uighurians, or more accurately, the Tatars, had not inflicted a crushing defeat on the remnants of the ephemeral Empire of the Seljūks (1300). The acceptance of the rich inheritance that the Tatars had left was the only merit of the Osmanli Turks at their beginnings.

The inhabitants of Eastern Uighuria and of Mongolia were some few years before Gengis Khān hardly more civilised than the antediluvian men: "They were dressed in the skins of dogs and wolves; they ate the flesh of mice and of other unclean animals, and they drank the milk of mares."* These primitive habits compared with the interesting legislation promulgated by the famous Gengis, the creator of the Tatarian Empire, will enhance the natural virtues of these "Asiatic Huns."†

"When you have to send a letter or a messenger to some rebels, do not threaten them with the greatness of your numbers or with your fighting force, but only say: 'If you submit, you will find goodness and peace; and if you rise, we will not be responsible for what will happen; the Eternal God only knows what will befall you.' In this way your confidence in the Lord will be made manifest, and you will win.

"You will honour and revere men who are pure, upright, learned and wise in all the nations, and you will despise the wicked and bad people amongst them.

* Barhebræus, "Chron. Syr." edit. Bedjan, pp. 406-7.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 410-11.

"Do not use towards your kings and princes many titles of honour as other peoples do. The man sitting on the throne should be given only one name: *Khān*, and his brothers and relatives should be called by the name of their birth.

"When you are at peace with your enemies, give yourselves up to hunting, and teach also your children how to hunt beasts. In this way, you will be drilled in warfare, you will acquire endurance, and you will attack your enemies, without fear and pity, as wild beasts.

"If a man dies amongst you without a legitimate heir, all his possessions, and even his wife, should be given to the man who was attending to him. The king should not be given anything."

People brought up under such legislation could not fail to subjugate some decadent nations, worn out by intestine divisions and mutual strife. From the beginning of 617 A.H. to 619 many important places, such as Bukhāra, Samarkand, Khawarazm, were successively taken by storm, and some years later the fall of Baghdâd (1258 A.D.) put an end to the Arabo-Persian domination in the south and threatened the Turkish possessions in the north.

These Mongols had no special literature, but they adopted the Uighur language to transmit their orders to the peoples that they had so easily subjugated.* By this method the Uighur acquired a wider field of extension than it could otherwise possess, Of the language itself, of the conquerors, not many literary compositions are known to-day, and it is by the language of the conquered nations that their own history is to be sketched in its most striking lines.

Between the old and imperfectly known language of the Kudatku Bilik poem, and the Chaghatāi, ancestral tongue of the Osmanli-Turkish, there is an intermediary language which so far has not been very accurately studied in its general morphological features and in its distinct relations with the two dialects between which it keeps a *juste milieu*. It is well represented by the works of the famous writer Rabghūzi—of which a fourteenth

* Barhebræus, "Chron. Syr," *ibid.*, p. 410.

century good MS. is found in the British Museum (Add. 7851), and it has been carefully described by the skilled hand of Dr. Rieu.

Happily, Rabghūzi is not the only man who can guide us safely in our investigations of the language of nations which played so important a rôle in the history of the world.

A manuscript in the John Rylands Library of Manchester contains the text of the Koran with a literal translation into this Rabghūzi dialect, distant only a few steps from the Uighuric tongue. This MS. numbered cod. 760-773 consists of fourteen volumes of 355 × 300 mm.

Nearly all the volumes are unfortunately truncated at the beginning and at the end, and all of them have many leaves missing in the middle, whilst the margins of many of the remaining leaves which were injured by worms have in consequence disappeared for ever. But what is most to be regretted is the clumsiness of the last binder who arranged the volumes in the present order. Many leaves which properly belong to the beginning are placed at the end; and several leaves which contain verses of a Surah and should have been bound, for instance, in volume 766, are bound through an incomprehensible blunder in volume 770, etc.

As the MS. stands to-day, it would have occupied thirty volumes instead of fourteen if there were no lacunæ in it.

The MS. seems to come from a country in which Arabic was not the language of the people. The last owner of the MS. has preserved his name in his seal found on Folio 19a of volume 765: "'Abdul-Bâki, son of 'Ali, the Arab." We suppose that according to the Oriental custom he would not have called himself "the Arab" if he were living in an Arab country.

One of the curious features of this MS. is that the old Turki and the Persian translations do not correspond always with the Arabic text, in spite of the fact that one word is above the other, beginning with the Arabic and ending with the old Turki. If we mistake not, the Persian and the old Turki translations were made several years before the transcription of the Arabic sacred text,

and the task of the scribe was in this case simply to transcribe from another MS. a translation already in existence. Two reasons make this view highly probable :

1. There are Arabic sentences which do not give the same meaning as that of the translation. This fact would be very surprising, did we suppose that the divergence extends only to some very easy words, such as pronouns, and preformative letters of the Aorist. We know that in early times, and before the invention of the diacritical points in the Arabic language, there were in the Mohammedan world different schools, which read, for instance, the word مقتل as *Naktulu*, " we kill," or *Yaktulu*, " he kills," or *Taktulu*, " thou killest." When the context did not condemn one of these readings to death, they were generally admitted by the most rigid commentators ; and the *Kutubul-Kira 'at* have preserved scores of such words read in a different way. In the MS. with which we are dealing, it happens sometimes that when the Arabic text gives " he kills " the translation exhibits " we kill." Let us take an example which is even more amazing than a usual variant of a diacritical point. In volume 760, last line of fol. 1, the Arabic words of Surah iii. 116 وان تصبهم are rendered in Persian واکر برسد شمارا and in old Turki واکر تکسا سیزکا. The Arabic text means " and if it befall them," and the Persian and the old Turki signify " and if it befall you." The old Turki and the Persian translations are, therefore, made from a copy of the Koran which exhibited the reading of Flügel's edition, " and if it befall you."

2. In volume 771, folio 68a, the word " God " is omitted in the Arabic text in verse 18 of Surah xlv., but it is rendered, in spite of the Arabic omission, into Persian and old Turki. This omission means also that the copyist was transcribing from two different MSS. He has omitted the word in question in one of his transcriptions, but he has inserted it in the two other transcriptions. Here we find a curious coincidence, to which we wish to draw attention.

In the book entitled " Leaves from the ancient Qurâns " which was printed some few months ago at the University Press of Cambridge, the word *Allah*,

which occurs in the verse of the Koran quoted above, has been read الكم or الك "a blow." I was not quite satisfied with this reading, but the palimpsest which belongs to Dr. Agnes S. Lewis did not permit me to read the word otherwise. The letter ك is distinct and does not seem to suffer the existence of another word, or, at all events, I was not able to find a more suitable word. Everything considered, it appears that the scribe of our present MS. found himself face to face with the same difficulty; having been unable to substitute another good vocable for the one that he could not decipher, he omitted it entirely. The hypothesis will become more plausible, if we consider the extreme care the copyist has taken, throughout all the volumes, of the word *Allah* on which he has indeed profusely lavished all his skill; he writes it always in gilt letters, and sometimes he forms its letters in a curiously waving form, resembling a coarse zigzag. In any case such an omission in the text of the Koran while both translations, the Old Turki and the Persian, are exact, is worthy of the attention of critics.

The note of the scribe referred to above informs us that the Arabic text has been transcribed from an old Kūfic MS., but the most elementary criterion is deficient as to the provenance of the old Turki version.

On the probable hypothesis that the translation was undertaken several years before the transcription of the Arabic text, the old Turki dialect becomes of exceptional importance. The Arabic MS. itself goes back to the time of Rabghūzi, or at latest, a few years after him, while the translation is very probably many decades earlier. Our MS. is, therefore, from a linguistic point of view, more valuable than Rabghūzi's apocryphal stories.

A second reason which seems to establish a superiority of our MS. over Rabghūzi's work, is the facility with which it may be used for critical studies or scientific researches. Being simply a literal and interlinear translation of the Koran, while the Old Turki word is placed immediately under the Persian and the Arabic words explained, it affords a most valuable field of investigation

for the student who is by this method enabled to examine more thoroughly the old Chaghatāi dialect for purposes of comparison with the Uighur language.

There are many lexicographical and grammatical similarities between the dialect exhibited in Shaw's Grammar* and that used in our MS.; but these similarities, so far as our short study of the text permits us to judge, do not seem to exceed in preponderating proportion those which unite all the Tatar dialects, the Chaghatāi and the Osmanli, for instance; and the main interest is precisely to ascertain the number of these similarities and dissimilarities and to know the epoch in which they have been gradually introduced by the general public, whose linguistic knowledge was not so brilliant in ancient times as to fix all the disunited elements of words into a more common and stereotyped form of speech.

We could lay more stress on some grammatical peculiarities of this dialect, but we think that this short notice is sufficient to give an adequate idea of the MS. and to stimulate the ardour of Ural-Altaic scholars, who, by a careful study of its contents, will perhaps be in a position to make substantial additions to the information published from time to time regarding the Turco-Tatar languages.

It should also be pointed out that in certain catalogues mention is made of a Koran *cum Versione Turcicâ;* but since it is not clearly stated what value we must attribute to this misleading term, we infer that it means simply Osmanli Turkish. At the time when such catalogues were prepared, few scholars were familiar with the Old Turki. These MSS., consisting of a single volume, cannot be compared with the thirty volumes of which our MS. was composed. We cherish the hope that in the near future we shall learn more of the exact nature of these manuscripts.

A. MINGANA.

* "A Sketch of the Turki Language" (Lahore, 1875).

A MOSLEM APOCRYPHAL PSALTER

——:o:——

It was my good fortune recently to purchase a MS. copy of the Zabūr Da'ūd, or Moslem Psalter, at one of the dealers near the Mosque Al Azhar. It is dated 1172 A.H., and the copyist's name is given as Mohammed ibn Ibrahim ibn Mohammed al Halabi. It was evidently written at Cairo, and although in good condition the MS. bears no title, but begins in the middle of the first page, as follows:

"In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate: It is related to us by Abu Walid ibn Yunas ibn Abdullah ibn Mohammed ibn Thlaib, the preacher in the mosque of Cordova, who said that it was related to him by Mohammed Abdullah b. Mohammed b. Nasir, who said it was related to him by Abu 'Ali Husseiny Sa'ad b. Idris, who said it was related to him by Abu Abdullah b. Yahya b. Abu Zachariya of Egypt, who said it was related to him by Abdul Aziz b. Jafir b. Abd es Samad, who said that Mohammed b. Ahmad told him how Abdul Man'am heard from Akil b. Munabah abd es Samad how Wahab b. Munabah said, 'I read that which God Most High sent down upon David (upon whom be peace) in the Zaboor.'"

Then follow "Psalms" in order to the number of a hundred and fifty. The MS. has 215 pages of text, and measures eight and a half inches by thirteen inches. The script is good and the ink is of two colours, the number of the Psalm and the expression "O David," wherever it occurs, being put in red ink, as also in those cases where there are repeated phrases. The Psalms are divided into eight books, each beginning with the Moslem formula, "In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate." These eight sections of the Psalter are divided as follows: Psalm 1-17; 18-36; 37-46; 47-57; 58-77; 78-99; 117-142; 143-150. At the close

of each section we have the words, "Here follows section (so and so) of the Psalter. This section is completed by the help of God. And may God's prayers and peace be upon our Lord Mohammed and his Companions, etc."

Only the first and second Psalm bear any resemblance whatever to the Psalms of David in the Old Testament. All the others differ both in content, in length, and in their wholly Moslem character from the Hebrew text. Even in the case of the first and second Psalms there is much extraneous matter or there are omissions. The following is a literal translation of the first Psalm in this manuscript :—

"Blessed is the man who walketh not in the way of sinners and sitteth not in the seat of mockers, and does not the deeds of the guilty, but who studies in the law of God day and night. He is like a tree on the water bank, taking its food and worshipping its Lord ; and its leaves become green. It is then a harkening and to its Lord an obedient one. This is not so with the hypocrites, for winds demolish their deeds, because God knows the path of the hypocrites and the path of the well-doers. O David, order the Children of Israel not to rebuke the poor and not to drive away the orphan, but to wake up at midnight with fearful hearts and weeping eyes. Did they not walk on earth and see what was the result of those who were before them and had more power and were more numerous, how torment took them and they did not feel it ? Or did they not know that I am the Lord who knows the secrets of the heavens and the earth, and I am not ignorant of what the unjust do."

The readers of THE MOSLEM WORLD will remember an article by L. Cheikho, S. J., translated from the French *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale, Tome IV.*, in which he dealt with "Some Moslem apocryphal Legends" and refers to a Berlin MS., of which the title reads, "Taken from the Zaboor."* The passages he there quotes, however, are not found in the MS. before us. Father Cheikho wrote :

"Thirteen years ago, when travelling to Mosul, I found a MS. which contained, besides the Apocrypha, a small work entitled 'The Zabūr of David (upon him be peace).' It contains ninety pages with a hundred and thirty-seven chapters about the length of the Psalms. The chapters are called Surahs ; the first is entitled 'The First Surah of the Zabūr.' On the last page we read 'End of the Zabūr.' In examining it we find that only in the first verses of the first Surah is there anything resembling the Psalter ; all the rest differs absolutely. The author speaks in the name of God, addressing Himself to David and giving him precepts and advice of all kinds, always beginning with the words, 'O David.' Here and there there are fragments of

* Cf., MOSLEM WORLD. Vol. II. 47 ff.

Biblical sentences or allusions to the Gospel, as for instance in the first Surah : ' O David, tell the servants of My house not to serve Me for what they receive from men, but let them hope for My grace even as the birds which do not sow nor reap, and yet they receive their food day by day afresh.' Other passages remind us of the Book of Proverbs or Ecclesiastes, in a somewhat elaborated style, full of imagery, which approaches the Biblical style. It is mixed here and there with most serious and strange ideas taken from the old myths ; for example, in the second Surah the famous Behemoth is mentioned, who, according to this author, carries on his back the seven earths, and God satisfies his hunger lest he cast his heavy burden from his shoulders and swallow it whole.

" In the same Surah, the judgment of Solomon is changed into a parable on slander.

" What is most striking in this work is its agreement with the ideas of the Koran. The heavenly joys are represented as in Mohammed's book ; the same voluptuous and sensual pleasures are described in the same terms. Hell and its anguish have the same Koranic description. Its style is more simple, less affected than that of the Koran.

" Can this book be the Moslem's Zabūr ? It is more than possible. This manuscript is of a recent epoch, but we have learned that a Russian Orientalist has an old one. What is more, we find some of these sentences in the Berlin MS. It should be studied thoroughly and a critical edition prepared."

We have quoted at length because his description of the character of the MS. found by him tallies with that in our hands, although in most respects the MSS. are quite different. The only Psalm in Cheikho's collection, as published in the original French article, that is similar to those in our MS., is the first Psalm. In his case every Psalm is called a surah ; in this MS. they are called Mazmūr. His MS. contains only 137 chapters about the length of the Psalms : the one before us has 150, most of them of greater length than any of the Psalms. The sixth and seventh Psalms, for example, cover four pages each. In the case of our MS., as in that discovered by Cheikho at Mosul, there are many instances of striking agreement with the language of the Koran. In the twelfth Psalm we have a discussion of the smaller and greater sins ; in the seventh Psalm the Moslem paradise is described in language as sensual as much of Moslem tradition ; in the 28th Psalm mention is made of the *Zabaniya*, or the nineteen angels in charge of hell, according to Moslem tradition. In the 18th Psalm God swears by the fig tree and the olive (cf., Surah 95, " By the Fig Tree and the Olive "). The 119th Psalm, strange to say,

is shorter than most of the others, while the 23rd Psalm is full of unchaste language and immoral teaching.

Instead of surmising, as Cheikho seems to do, that it is more than possible that we have here the Zabūr referred to in the Koran, the argument is to the contrary. The fact that the Berlin manuscript, that of the Russian Orientalist, the one from Mosul, and the one before us differ so greatly, would indicate that at least some of them, if not all, were forgeries. The *asnad*, or list of traditional authorities given, is itself apparently a forgery. Only two of the names mentioned in the list are well-known, the one at the beginning, Abu Walid of Cordova, and the final authority, Wahab b. Munabah, the celebrated tradition-monger of the first century after Mohammed. Abu Walid was born 479 A.H. in Spain, and after his training as a Moslem teacher, travelled to Alexandria and also to Cairo, where he taught for some years. He then visited Mecca and India, where he died in 551. According to Ibn Khalikan (Vol. II., 180) Wahab b. Munabah "had great knowledge of the tales of the ancients and the history of the world and the lives of the prophets and the history of kings. Ibn Kutaiba says concerning him that he stated, 'I have read seventy-two volumes of the Books of God.' He died in the year 110 or 114 or 116 A.H. in Sanaa of Yemen, at the age of ninety." According to Lidzbarski,* Wahab b. Munabah was originally a Jew converted to Islam. Among the books attributed to him are "Kūsus al Anbiya," "Kitab al Israeliát," and other works, but he does not mention anything like a Zabūr or version of the Psalter. It is to Wahab b. Munabah that we are indebted for the current Moslem belief that God sent down a hundred and four books; namely, ten to Adam, fifty to Seth, thirty to Enoch, ten to Abraham; to Moses the Torah, to David the Zabūr, to Jesus the Injil, and to Mohammed the Koran. This tradition occurs in various forms, nor do Moslems agree as to the number of the books sent down to each of these prophets. Most of the fables related by Wahab are traced by Lidzbarski

* De Propheticis, Quae Dicuntur, Legendis Arabicis. Leipzig, 1893.

to Jewish sources. This makes it all the more doubtful whether these later manuscripts have any connection whatever with Wahab. Most probably the list of authorities given, as well as the book itself, is a late forgery similar to the notorious Gospel of Barnabas.

We have called attention to the MS. in case any of our readers have heard of similar MSS., so that a critical comparison may be made later. In conclusion, it is interesting to add that some of the sheikhs at Al Azhar expressed their pleasure that the original copy of the Psalter had now been found and that it contained references to Mohammed and to Mecca, the former in the 37th Psalm and the latter in the twentieth! "And one day when Adam approached God said, 'I have made you to look at the name of Mohammed upon My throne for the last time. He is the last of the prophets'"; and, "By the holy house at Jerusalem and at Mecca, I am pleased if you draw forth the sword of truth and give your substance to the poor and needy."

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THE USE OF THE APOCRYPHA BY MOSLEM WRITERS

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A WELL-KNOWN puzzle in the Koran is the phrase "the Wisdom," which is coupled many times with "the Book," but in such a way that we cannot be sure whether the two are meant to be identified or distinguished. The jurist Shafei, as has been shown elsewhere,* supposed "the Wisdom" to mean "the Sunnah"—*i.e.*, according to him matter in a way revealed to the Prophet, yet not written in the Koran. That any Islamic authority should interpret it as "the Wisdom Literature"—*i.e.*, the philosophical parts of the Old Testament and its Apocrypha, might seem surprising, yet this is actually done in certain cases, as appears from passages in the "Mikhlat" of Mohammed b. al-Husain al-Amuli.† According to him Urwah b. al-Zubair (ob. about 91 A.H.) said, "It is written in the Wisdom: my son, let thy word be good and thy face cheerful; thou shalt be beloved by men more than one who gives them a gift." The reference is partly to Ecclesiasticus xviii. 16, 17: "So is a word better than a gift, Lo, is not a word better than a gift," partly to xxxv. 9: "In all thy gifts shew a cheerful countenance." Similarly according to him‡ Malik b. Dinar (ob. about 125 A.H.) said: "It is written in the Wisdom: it is forbidden to every heart that loves money to speak the truth." This is a somewhat inaccurate quotation of the same book, xxvi. 29—xxvii. 1, "A merchant shall hardly keep himself from doing wrong, and an huckster shall not be freed from sin; many have sinned for the sake of money, and he that seeketh for abundance will turn his eyes away."

The same author is quoted as "one of the Wise" by

* "Hibbert Lectures," p. 68.

† Cairo, 1317, p. 30. ‡ Ibid., p. 49.

the grammarian Mubarrad in his "Kamil"*: "One of the Wise said: whoso instructs his son when he is small has joy from him when he is grown up; and there was said: whoso instructs his son vexes his enemy." The reference is to Ecclesiasticus xxx. 2: "He that chastiseth his son shall have joy of him"; and 3: "He that teacheth his son grieveth the enemy."

The work is cited as the "Torah" (*i.e.*, Old Testament) by Jahiz in his "Bayan†": "Katadah (ob. 117 A.H.) said: it is written in the Torah: A tale shall not be repeated twice." The reference is to Ecclus. xix. 7, "never repeat a tale twice."

The book is also cited as "the Torah" by Ghazali in the "Ihya‡": "In the Torah there is the saying: fear God when thou art satisfied and remember the hungry." The reference is to Ecclus. xviii. 25, "When thou hast enough, remember the time of hunger."

Some other verses of this work have the honour of being ascribed in the Tradition to the Prophet himself. In the "Musnad" of Ibn Hanbal§ the third Caliph states that he heard the Prophet say: "Everything besides the shade of a house and a crust of bread and a garment to cover his nakedness, and water—to whatever is beyond these man has no right." This is clearly Ecclus. xxix. 21: "The chief thing for life is water and bread and clothing and an house to cover shame." In the "Saḥīḥ" of Muslim‖ Abu Hurairah reports that he heard the Prophet say "There are three whom God will not speak to on the day of the Resurrection, etc., viz.: an old adulterer, a king who lies and a poor man who is proud." The list of miscreants is from Ecclus. xxv. 2, "a poor man that is proud, a rich man that is a liar, and an old adulterer."

Yakut in his "Dictionary of Learned Men,"¶ quotes as a "khabar" (tradition of the Prophet), "Pity three persons: the mighty of the people who is humiliated, the wealthy among the people who is impoverished, and

* Cairo, 1308, i. 45. † Ed. I., i. 45; ed. II., i. 58.

‡ Cairo, 1306, iii. 66. § Cairo, 1313, i. 62. ‖ Cairo, 1290, i. 41.

¶ My edition, i. 15.

the learned whose learning is mocked by the ignorant." This list comes from Ecclus. xxvi. 28, " a man of war that suffereth poverty, and men of understanding that are not set by." In the Greek text it is not quite clear who the third is; in the Syriac he is " one who turns from righteousness to sin."

Occasionally the " Wisdom " is cited for texts which cannot easily be identified. In the " Bayan* " we are told that " it is written in the Wisdom: the divine favour is the best guide; a good character is the best companion; solitude is better than bad company." These maxims are not unlike Ecclus. xxxvii. 12-15, but the correspondence is by no means close. Abu Talib al-Mekki† says: " I read in the Wisdom: the pivot of success is in four things: food should only be eaten when there is appetite; a woman should look only at her husband; a sovereign is rendered prosperous by loyalty; subjects are rendered prosperous by justice." This sounds like Kalilah wa-Dimnah. A story is, however, told in the " Bayan " which shows how extraneous matter might be introduced into such a work as Ecclesiasticus.‡ The authority is al-Asma'i (ob. 216 A.H.). " A book of Wisdom had been written, and some space remained; they said, What shall we write in it? He said: Write about every art, let the authorities therein be asked."

The passages cited above very clearly indicate the use of the book Ecclesiasticus either directly or indirectly by Moslem authors; and the matter which it contains is so unobjectionable that its failure to acquire popularity in this region must be due to the suspicion which generally attached to the religious books of the Christians. Whereas then the actual book was known to few, several of the aphorisms which it contains and first formulated in a particular way circulated as oral tradition, and were attributed to various persons, just as other aphorisms from the same book circulated among the Jews who ascribe them to later Rabbis.

* Ed. II., ii. 38; ed. I., i. 179.

† " Kut al-kulub," Cairo, 1310, ii. 188.

‡ Ed. II., ii. 48; ed. I., i. 186.

An interesting case wherein an aphorism of Ecclesiasticus is followed by one from the Gospel and both are attributed to an Arab sage, is to be found in the " Bayan " of the polygraph Jahiz* (ob. 255 A.H.), of which we at last possess a readable edition. " Al-Ahnaf b. Kais presented himself before Muawiyah b. Sufyan (the first Umayyad Caliph), who, pointing to a cushion, bade him sit down. He sat down on the floor. Muawiyah asked him why he declined to sit on the cushion. He replied: " O Commander of the faithful, one of the precepts of Kais b. Asim al-Minkari to his son is: 'Do not visit the Sultan until he grows tired of thee, neither keep away from him until he forgets thee.' And another is: 'Sit not upon his couch or his cushion, but set between thyself and him the room of one or two men, for perhaps there may come one who is worthier of that place than thou, and thou shalt be made to yield it up to him, when thy rising will be an honour to him and a humiliation for thee.' This seat is good enough for me, O Commander of the Faithful, for perhaps some one may come who is worthier of that seat than I."

Of the aphorisms quoted, the first is from Ecclus. xiii. 10, where the author deals with invitations from a " Sultan " (δυνάστης):

" Press thou not upon him lest thou be put back;
Stand not far back lest thou be forgotten."

In the second we recognise Luke xiv. 8-10.

The Wisdom of Solomon, a vastly superior book to Ecclesiasticus, has little in it which would appeal to the Moslem mind. However, the saying recorded by Tabari,† " By the envy of the Devil Adam was ousted from Paradise," bears a decided resemblance to Wisdom ii. 24. " By the envy of the Devil death entered into the world."

The philosophy of the Arabs often coincides with that of the Hebrews in such a way that no suspicion of borrowing can arise. In Ecclus. xxx. 4 it is said that if a man leave a son, when he dies, it is as though he were

* Ed., Cairo, 1332, i. 31; 1313, i. 25.

† Leyden ed, ii. 1787.

not dead. This theory is illustrated in the story told by Hariri* of the wise woman Tabakah, whose father had been asked by the wise man Shann three perplexing questions. One of these was whether a corpse that was being carried to the grave was alive. Tabakah perceived the meaning to be—had he left a son to perpetuate his name ? The proverb, " Tabakah is a match for Shann," arose from the latter having determined to marry no woman who was not his equal in intelligence, and having at last discovered one who was.

Oxford. D. S. Margoliouth.

* Ed. de Sacy, 460.

HAUSA PROVERBS AND HAUSA CHARACTER

——:o:——

THE Hausa Moslems have a wealth of proverbs in daily use. "If a Kano man speaks to you only two sentences, one of them will be a *karin magana*" (proverb), was the statement of a Zaria man. Some knowledge, therefore, of the "karin magana" (proverbs or sayings) is one of the most direct ways by which to gain an understanding of the mind and character of the Hausa.

It is possible to read beautiful thoughts into some of these "*karin magana*," but should one press the people for their own comments, the beauty seems suddenly lacking. "If you are going to ask from God, take a big receptacle," sounds altogether good until on enquiry one learns that the ministry of intercession finds no place in their praying, and that asking of God the spiritual good of another is practically unknown. The "big receptacle" is for a large haul in the interests of the petitioner himself! An ejaculation, "May God ease him from it!" seems to be the nearest approach to prayer for a brother with a trouble of any sort. "If you see your brother's beard on fire, seek water to pour on your own"—so runs a Hausa proverb. "He might have poured some on his brother's beard," remarked a Scotch military officer, to whom it was quoted. But brotherly love of the New Testament kind is not taught in the Hausa proverbs. "If the arrow passes one's own head, it may light upon anyone," is a not distant cousin of the first-mentioned saying, and the same inclination to take thought for "number one" is noticeable in others, as, "To be kept in remembrance by the giver of presents is preferable to his dismissing me with a tip."

"Who throws away behind him will take up in front," was accepted hopefully, until an application was requested. A father, it was said, will act generously towards the children of another, calculating that his own children will reap benefit afterwards. That the desired

result is not fully assured to him is evident from this further proverb: "The man of the world, if you do him a good turn, will do you a bad one."

"Obedience begins at home" contains promise of good things, yet hope is quickly dispelled by a little study of child-life, and one wearies of the phrase, "*ba shi da jin gari*" (he doesn't heed what he is told).

Surprise is often expressed by people who know little of Islam at the commendable ideas put forward in these Hausa proverbs, which are widely known and freely used.* In the following examples, the virtues of patience, determination, contentment, tolerance, forethought and taking trouble are clearly advocated: "Patience is the remedy for the ills of daily life." "When the heart undertakes, the body is its slave." "Enjoyment is not for sale; would you despise the wild paw-paw?" "A one-eyed man does not thank God until he sees a man wholly blind." "However pleasant forgiveness, not to quarrel is better." "Better repair than rebuild." "An oath won't check a young monkey—farmer, see to guarding your crops."

And again, in these, though indirectly, other good qualities are approved: "God keep us from had-I-known" (*i.e.*, remorse). "Cease looking at its small size—the needle is steel." "Chattering doesn't cook the rice." "The mouth cuts through the neck" (*i.e.*, can cause someone's destruction). "Where there is character, ugliness is beauty, where no character, beauty is ugliness." "The *dadawa* is calling the *manda* black!" (two black-looking foods). "Faults are a hill; a man stands on his own and sees other people's." "The companion of a bad man is a bad man." "Hammer the metal while it is still hot—if it wait, hammering is useless." There is a pithiness about the following: "If a man says he is going to swallow his axe, hold the handle for him." "One pair of shoulders, ten gowns, one gown, ten pairs of shoulders." "The blind man

* Let it be said here that although many of these proverbs may be in use among all Hausa-speaking people, even if some, which are the product of shrewd observation merely, have had a pagan origin, these facts would but strengthen the plea for the pagan Hausas and do not suffice to weaken that for the Moslems.

says, the eye has a bad smell." "Do you eat a round cake from the middle?" "Would you ask the nose the flavour of salt?" "The dweller in the room knows where the leaks are." "Doing mischief is pleasanter than repairing it."

A book could be filled with sayings such as these, and it is interesting to note many of which we possess the equivalents. But the point which concerns us now is the general failure to practise what is preached, as they themselves admit without hesitation and with little shame. Bowing acquaintances with Islam are quick to say, "But Christians also preach much which they do not practise. Have we not our 'Piety begins at home.' 'The tongue is not steel, yet it cuts.' 'Where there's a will there's a way.' 'Deeds not words,' and many more? Is there any difference?"

Yes, there is a difference. Christians are those who believe in Christ, are followers of Christ, who know Him to be the Way, the Truth and the Life, and have come to God by that, the only Way. They have also the deep and abiding assurance that whatever is the will of God for them to be and do is possible for them to be and do—that it is no longer a case of I ought, and cannot, but "I can . . . through Christ." And herein is found the difference; for, while in the case of the Moslem there are shortcomings and inadequacy in religion, in founder and in follower alike, in the case of the Christian, the flaws and failure are found in himself alone.

Inspiration to achieve and the needed enabling are not lacking to such extent in the religion taught by Christ, as they are in the religion of Mohammed.

In keenness of observation, in ability to learn, in skill of hand, in capacity for affection, many a Hausa Moslem is the equal of any among us. And since Koranic exhortations have their main root in Judaistic teaching, much of which was derived from the Old Testament, he has at his tongue's tip philosophy and law such as would *almost* justify the attitude of his many well-wishers, who admire Islam more than he does himself, and who urge that the Moslem shall not be disturbed in his faith.

Does not amazement at thus leaving some two hundred millions of fellow-creatures to a religion which is like an empty husk, give place, unbidden, to wondering whether these well-wishers have ever themselves fully realised, accepted, and given thanks for the full salvation which is theirs, for the accepting, through Christ —— ? Is it possible that any who have exchanged uncertainty for confidence, dread for peace and effort for abiding in Christ, can wish that hundreds of thousands shall go on striving to accumulate merit through vain repetitions, through fast and pilgrimage and in other ways, in order to obtain that which is offered as a free gift ?

Do we realise what must be the longdrawn anguish of the more thoughtful among them, to live and die having no assurance that their Creator will accept them at the last, fearing lest He has after all predestined them to hell-fire ?

" The plant which God favours, even lacking rain, it will grow," says their proverb. But, if God's favour is based on inclination and not on justice, this becomes a somewhat dismal hope. Let yet another of their proverbs voice the need. " Sending by a messenger will not ease your mind, only going yourself."

The name of Mohammed was not the name given " wherein we must be saved," and those who plead that name with such wearisome reiteration are themselves in doubt as to the result. Mohammed could not say to his followers, " My peace I give unto you . . . let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid," or " I will make request of the Father, and He shall give . . ." The Koran does not teach the " new and living way."

Knowing, as surely we do, what the bringing of the Gospel to our own land has meant for us, shall we not set ourselves to realise our national responsibility towards the Moslems who are under our rule ? Does it cause us no disquietude when we remember Christ's command that all the world should hear ? *Have we no fear lest some, perhaps many, among the Hausas, who ponder the motives of their white administrators, should be saying wistfully in their hearts, " Can it be that the rulers indeed know that this is the very Christ ? "* E. M. PADDON.

THE MOSLEM PRESS AND THE WAR

——:o:——

THROUGHOUT the wide range of the Mohammedan world Moslems of many nationalities have been watching the terrific conflict in Europe with an increasing awareness that the issue of the struggle will directly affect Islam. The breaking-up of Turkish political power is seen to be imminent. For five hundred years Islam has regarded the Ottoman Government as its divinely appointed and all-powerful champion. Now the Turks are moving the archives and palace treasures to a small town in the heart of Asia Minor.

Constantinople has been well called the political centre of Islam, Cairo the intellectual, and Mecca the religious. Constantinople may soon pass from the hands of the Turks; Cairo has already come under a British Protectorate, and the prospects are that the great peninsula in which Mecca is situated may be brought under British control. Guarantees have been given that the Holy Cities of the Hejaz will be allowed to continue under Mohammedan rule, but Turkish authority in Mecca will probably cease.

Whatever shall be decided about the place and person of the Caliphate, there will unquestionably be a shifting of the Moslem centre of gravity from Constantinople to Cairo. The Cairo press to-day probably exercises a greater power in Islam than the Caliph himself. And the great Azhar theological university is steadily holding the allegiance of its tens of thousands of graduates in many lands. What they have learned in Cairo, they preach throughout Asia and Africa.

Yet the solidarity of the Moslem world is already seriously affected by the war. In fact, disintegration has set in through the splitting of forces into pro-Turkish and anti-Turkish elements. This formidable cleavage in

opinion and in sympathy is clearly reflected in the newspapers of Cairo.

It should be said here that the main purpose of this article is to give a poll of the Cairo press, as the most reliable interpretation of what is really going on in the minds of Moslems. Official communiqués and official interviews are not worth as much as the newspaper editorials, though even these leave much unsaid because of the censorship.

The declaration of martial law in Egypt was accompanied by the institution of a rigid system of censorship. Probably this arbitrary law has been even more necessary in Egypt than in England or Germany. The publication of startling rumours or seditious articles would have thrown the whole country into disorder and strife. As it is, a firm, even government has been maintained, and there has been absolutely no rioting or restless behaviour. The law of the press, with its chief ally the censorship, has kept the mind of the Egyptains under control through all these critical months.

But the disadvantage of this strict supervision is well stated by the editor of one of the leading Arabic monthlies, in a private interview :

" The greatest inconvenience of this law is that it prevents many from expressing their true feelings. There is no doubt that a large portion of the Moslem population in Egypt dislikes British authority, and would rather be ruled by a Turkish Sultan than submit to any Christian control. The only powers that prevent the average Moslem from giving vent to his feelings are the Law of the Press and the Censorship. But the majority of the really educated class are more favourably disposed towards Great Britain and her allies, and are consequently averse to any hostile action on the part of Islam. Many of them know that the Holy War declared by the Sheikh-ul-Islam was merely an attempt of political desperation. For it is not true that any of the Allies ever attacked Islam. Nor have Moslems been molested in the peaceful and quiet exercise of their rites and beliefs."

El-Muayyad, one of the most influential, if not the most influential, Moslem daily newspaper, openly declares that :

" The interfering on the part of Turkey in the present conflict was an uncalled-for foolishness, and by her action Turkey has forfeited her right to the Caliphate. Nor is Turkey's claim to the Caliphate justifiable. Why should the Turk, that old Mongolian descendant of Othman, usurp the Caliphate from the hands of the true descendants and successors of Mohammed ? Besides, Turkey's policy for several

decades has been detrimental to Islam, and in many cases the Constantinople Government has shown a hostile spirit to Mohammedans themselves, not to say anything of her ill-treatment of Christians."

The following was published in all the papers of Cairo on March 16th, 1915, and was thus read by Moslems throughout North Africa, the Sudan and Arabia:

"The Government of India issues a communiqué in the following terms: 'It is reported by the Italian Government that the Turkish authorities at Jeddah, in spite of the energetic protests of the Italian Consul there, have seized at Magador a cargo of 30,000 sacks of barley, which was destined for pilgrims to the Holy Places.

"'His Majesty's Government, in their solicitude for the welfare of pilgrims, had made special arrangements for exempting food supplies from their measures for dealing with contraband, and the high-handed action of the Turks in taking advantage of this fact will be universally condemned. If supplies sent by His Majesty's Government for Moslems on a sacred errand to Holy Places are to be seized and used for Turkish military forces, such supplies obviously must cease.

"'His Majesty's Government, therefore, while adhering unswervingly to their policy respecting the Holy Places, will reluctantly be compelled, unless the Italian Government receive from the Turkish Government adequate assurances that these supplies will not be misappropriated, to discontinue them.'"

It is interesting just at this point to consider the Five Fetwas from the Sheikh-ul-Islam at Constantinople ordering a Holy War. These may be called the Findings of the Chief Justice of Islam. They were published in Constantinople in the *Tassvir-i-Efkar* and other papers on November 15th, and though prohibited by the Egyptian censor, found their way into the hands of Moslems everywhere.

"When it is found with certainty that the lives and properties of Mohammedans are exposed to the danger of being taken and pillaged, and the Caliph, according to his right, declares a Jihad (Holy War), will it be necessary and imperative for all Moslems in all quarters of the world, whether young or old, to join the Jihad with all their might?

"*Answer*: Yes."

"Therefore, when the Empire has been attacked—God forbid—with the intention to annihilate Islam by Russia, England and France, will it be necessary for all Moslems who live under those states to take up arms and literally join the Jihad?

"*Answer*: Yes."

"Then, when it is found out that, in order to obtain this end, it is necessary that every Moslem join the Jihad, will those who—God forbid—refrain from doing so bring upon themselves his wrath and be punished?

"*Answer*: Yes."

"Then, will not even those who are brought against their will and with force to fight a Mohammedan state be committing murder punishable by hell fire?

"*Answer:* Yes."

"Then, in the present war, will not those Mohammedans who are under England, France, Russia, Servia, and Montenegro be committing a great sin by fighting Germany and Austria, who are protectors and friends of Islam?

"*Answer:* Yes."

Had it not been for the censorship in Egypt, the fanaticism of some would have known no limits. Even a Moslem paper like *Al-Ahali*, founded by the ex-Prime Minister of Egypt, often appears with blank colums, owing to the censors having struck out certain paragraphs or articles. In many instances the genuine spirit of *Al-Ahali* is unmasked by references which probably escape the censor's notice. An example of this is the way in which the *Al-Ahali* deals with the hostilities against the Dardanelles. For one who reads between the lines, it is not difficult to detect a spirit of sarcasm at the Allies' action, though outwardly the passages seem to be quite harmless. It would be most difficult, if not altogether impossible, to give an exact rendering of any of those passages. They are not unlike Mark Antony's oration on the death of Cæsar. Although on the one hand *Al-Ahali* publishes Reuter's and the official communiqués with regard to the bombardment of the Dardanelles, yet, on the other hand, the comments are encouraging to those who sympathise with the Turks.

El-Muayyad is more careful. For some time past its policy has been a thorn in the side of Turkey. In many instances its support of the British cause has, in the sight of many an orthodox Azhari, been carried too far. Indeed a schism in the opinions of the proprietors of the paper with regard to this policy led to the dismissal of Hafiz Bey Awad from the chair of chief editor. Hafiz Bey seemed to be more British than the British themselves! His open attacks on Turkey, because of her getting entangled in the European conflict, were becoming insupportable both to the proprietors and to readers.

The fanaticism of many Moslems has led them to consider every war of Turkey as a *jihad*. They have represented Turkey as defending the cause of Islam. The Turco-Italian war was in their opinion a crusade

directed against Islam. The Balkan wars were another crusade; while the present Armageddon, into which Turkey has thrown herself as a moth throws itself into the flame, is also a crusade. In an article dated November 7th, 1912, published by the newspaper *Al-'Alam* (an organ, shortly afterwards suppressed, of the Nationalist party in Egypt), a writer by the name of Abi-Es-Su'ud says: "Behold the King of Greece blessing his army in the name of the Christian religion; the Minister of Bulgaria in the name of the Cross; while our noble Caliph warns his children not to molest the non-combattants. The Balkan States claim that their object is to save their brother Christians from Moslem rule. The truth is that they are fanatics . . . But the hour has come. Let Moslems everywhere declare a religious war to defend themselves and their property! Let them show the glory of Islam in its full splendour!"

Soon after the outbreak of the European conflict, on August 20th, 1914, the official communiqué of the Turkish Ministry of War, signed by Anwar* Pasha, was published by *Esh-Sha'ab*, the successor of *Al-'Alam*. The most important part of this communiqué is the following: "The life of the holy Caliphate and of the entire Moslem world depends on the sacrifice which our valiant army will offer."

A week previous, on August 14th, *Esh-Sha'ab* had published a most fiery article by Shakib Arslan, an ex-member of the Turkish Parliament from Hauran province. *Esh-Sha'ab* was forthwith suppressed by the Egyptian authorities and has not appeared since. The following is a translation of part of this article:

"Moslems have no hope except that the nations of Christendom should rise against each other. As for us, who are of the Faith, let us stand aloof and watch. But let us not forget that the triumph of Germany is more in the interest of Islam than the triumph of the Slavs, and this for reasons upon which we cannot enlarge . . . Readers of *Esh-Sha'ab* will perhaps remember a previous article in which I said that the innocent blood of Islam shed in the Balkan wars appealed to the throne of God calling for the day of revenge—for a day when Moslems would witness in Europe an upheaval that would make them enjoy the sight and forget their misfortunes!"

It is noteworthy that the writer of this article is a

* The Turkish name Enver is a corruption from the Arabic *Anwar*.

Druse and not a Mohammedan, and yet he seems to be more Moslem than the Caliph !

The more intelligent sheikhs of Islam and its responsible leaders seem to differ in opinion from Shakib Arslan. We do not refer to the sheikhs in Turkey, who are mere instruments in the hands of Anwar Pasha and his staff, but to the independent Mohammedan authorities. Conspicuous among these is the Agha Khan, who may be regarded as the head of the Moslems in India. Upon the declaration of war by Turkey, he published the proclamation since so widely quoted,* in which he condemned the act of Turkey and called upon Moslems to pray for the victory of Great Britain and her Allies. A similar proclamation was issued by the Moslems of Russia, who number nearly 20,000,000, while Es-Senoussi, the head of this order in Africa, who boasts of his holy ancestry, openly censured the foolish step taken by Turkey, and solemnly asserted that Islam was utterly innocent of such an act. Yet it was this same Es-Senoussi who led a *jihad* against Italy in her recent war against Turkey !

The jurists and doctors of Islam in Egypt likewise took cognizance of Turkey's fateful decision ; and their disapproval was formally expressed in this declaration which was published on November 10th, 1914, in *Al Ahram* and the other newspapers of Cairo :

THE ADVICE OF THE GRAND SHEIKHS.

" *True religion is the giving of good advice.*"
(Traditional saying of Mohammed)

In the name of the most Merciful One : Praise be to God who warned His people against entering into riots and ordered them to avoid all corruption, secret or open ; and peace be on our Master Mohammed, who inculcated good character and induced people to keep calm and quiet ; and likewise peace be upon his Companions and kinsmen who obeyed him and followed his example.

And now, O Moslems, you know that war is now raging, that its spark has spread in all directions, its evils have pervaded all countries, and its catastrophes have overwhelmed all men. But God has favoured you, O Egyptians, by sheltering you from the evils thereof, and by enabling you to keep your land from the harms and dangers of war, without its costing you a soul or any precious thing. Such being the case, it is incumbent on you to keep quiet and resort to peace. Let

* This proclamation appeared in many English and American papers.

each one advise his friend to this effect. You should not indulge in things that are not your concern ; rather should every one mind his own business, for God most High has said, "O YE WHO HAVE BELIEVED, MIND YOUR OWN SELVES, AND DO NOT BE LED ASTRAY BY THOSE WHO HAVE ERRED." Beware lest you should interfere with things that will bring upon you harm and from whose dire results you will not be safe. Beware lest you cast yourselves into destruction. In all circumstances, be kind and gentle in words and actions, for God the Most High has said, "CAST NOT YOURSELVES INTO PERDITION, BUT BE MERCIFUL, FOR GOD LOVES THOSE WHO ARE MERCIFUL."

Beware of sitting with the riotous and evil doers. Avoid meetings wherein there is much confusion, and do not listen to the deceitful words of the hypocrite and the ignorant, for there is no good in these. Of the like of them God has said, "THERE IS NOT MUCH GOOD IN THEIR COMPANY, EXCEPT THOSE WHO GIVE ALMS. DO A GOOD DEED, OR PROMOTE PEACE AMONGST MEN. FOR TO HIM WHO DOES SO IN SEARCH OF GOD'S FAVOUR SHALL WE GIVE A GREAT REWARD."

Again, let every one beware lest he should interfere with a thing whose evil will not affect him only ; for God has warned you against that, saying, "AVOID A RIOT, WHOSE EVIL RESULTS WILL AFFECT MORE PERSONS THAN THOSE WHO DID THE WRONG." There is also recorded in *Sahih El-Bukhari* a tradition quoted by Abou-Harira from the words of the Prophet (peace be on him !) to the effect that "the riot will be less harmful to the sitter than to the stander, and less to the stander than to the walker, and less to the walker than to the striver ; for he who goes near to it will be consumed by it, and he who finds a refuge from it, let him seek shelter therein." The meaning of this is that he who keeps himself far from riots is better than he who keeps near them, and he who exposes himself to them will perish. Now we who are the circle of '*Ulemas* find it our duty in the present circumstances to give you advice, O Moslems, in obedience to the Prophet's words (peace be on him !) : 'TRUE RELIGION IS THE GIVING OF GOOD ADVICE.' Another quotation ascribed to the Prophet says : 'A good sign of a man's true Islam is that he should leave alone what does not concern him.' Truly this is sufficient advice, and God is the leader to success."

(Signatures)

His reverence Sheikh Selim Bushri, Chancellor of Al-Azhar.
,, ,, ,, Bekri Ashur Es-Sedfi, Grand Mufti of Egypt.
,, ,, ,, Hassuna El-Nawawi, Sheikh of Islam and ex-Grand Mufti of Egypt.
,, ,, ,, Mohammed Hasanein El-'Adwi, Administrator of Al-Azhar, and Director-General of Religious Institutions.
,, ,, ,, Mohammed 'Abul-Fadl El-Gizawi, Chief of the Alexandria Institute.
,, ,, ,, Mohammed Bekhit, Mufti of the Ministry of Justice.
,, ,, ,, Mohammed Shakir, ex-Administrator of Al-Azhar and member of the Legislative Assembly.
,, ,, ,, 'Abdul-Hamid Zaid, Chief of the First Section of Al-Azhar.

His reverence Sheikh Suleiman Al-'Abd, Chief of the Shafi' sect, Al-Azhar.
" " " Sayid Hassan El-Bassiuni, Chief of the Hanbali sect.
" " " Mohammed Qandil El-Hilali, member of the Council of Administrators, Al-Azhar.
" " " Mohammed Radhi El-Bahrawi, of the Grand *'Ulema.*
" " " Ahmed N. El-'Adwi, of the Grand *'Ulema.*
" " " Mohammed Tamum, of the Grand *'Ulema.*
" " " Yunis M. 'Utafi, of the Grand *'Ulema.*
" " " Mahmud El-Gaziri, of the Grand *'Ulema.*
" " " Ahmed Adris, of the Grand *'Ulema.*
" " " Mohammed Ahmed Tokhi, of the Grand *'Ulema.*
" " " Mohammed Bekhati, Mufti of the Ministry of Public *Waqfs* (*i.e.*, religious endowments).
" " " Abdul-Muti Esh-Sharshimi.
" " " Ibrahim El-Hadidi.
" " " Sayid Mohammed Er-Rufai El-Mehlawi.
" " " Mohammed Ibrahim El-Qayati.
" " " Harun Abdul Razik.
" " " Dassuki El-'Arabi.
" " " Mohammed Rashid.
" " " Mohammed El-Nejdi.

Another important publication was a pamphlet, signed by the leading sheikhs and dignitaries of Morocco that appeared under the title THE MOSLEMS' VERDICT. This has been widely and systematically circulated through North Africa. It demonstrates in brief the unwise step taken by Turkey in the present war, and goes on to say:

"The deplorable state in which the Ottoman Empire finds herself to-day is really due to the unsound policy of the Young Turks, who have brought the empire to the verge of ruin. The internal unrest and poverty was enhanced by the Young Turks' casting in their lot with the Germans and staking the heritage of those glorious ancestors who built up the Turkish Empire. This indeed is a great crime. But how could Turkey avoid losing her honour and independence when Anwar Pasha is nothing but an instrument in the hands of the Emperor William, blindly obeying his commands, while the entire Turkish army is under the control of German officers? Even the religious institutions are now in the hands of the Germans! This particular crime, committed by the Young Turks in broad daylight, has aroused indignant protest throughout the Moslem world. Moslems have unanimously condemned this shameful conduct, and have raised their voices in India, Persia, Arabia, Egypt, Tunis, Algiers, Morocco, Central Africa, and other Mohammedan countries, censuring those wretched persons who are precipitating their country into an abyss of sure destruction. Even Moslems in Turkey have striven to oppose them, for there are those in Turkey who are genuine Moslems of noble

sentiments and who have the real welfare of Islam at heart, notwithstanding the consternation and terror to which they have been subjected by Anwar Pasha and his confederates. Those true Moslems disapprove of this war which was kindled by Germany, and declare openly their friendliness to France, England and Russia. The Moslems in the French colonies in Africa have also availed themselves of this opportunity to express their sincere love and loyalty to France. *Muftis*, judges, *sheikhs*, and *'Ulema*, well acquainted with the Mohammedan law and the precepts of true Islam, not to mention the chiefs, dignitaries, and even petty farmers, have expressed what their hearts feel towards France. We may refer to the declarations coming from the great chiefs of the Sufi sects, and published as an appendix to H.M. the Sultan of Morocco's declaration and that of the Bey of Tunis. Such statements are indeed compatible with the Law ; and if we add to them the numerous epistles coming from different quarters of the entire world, especially from Moslems in Russia, England and France, it would be clearly seen that by casting in Turkey's lot with that of Germany the Young Turks have committed an unpardonable sin against Islam and have excommunicated themselves from the brotherhood."

A rather striking example of the extent to which Egyptian and Turkish Moslems have now severed the ties which formerly bound them is this signed article from *El-Moqattam*, a pro-British paper, of February 16th, 1915.* The author is Mohammed El-Qalqili, who was for some time special correspondent of *El-Moqattam* in Palestine. Having formerly been an Ottoman subject, he speaks with an intimate knowledge of Turkish affairs. He writes on "MOSLEM INDEPENDENCE" :

" Wherever I turn I see around me people who are expressing a great anxiety as to Moslem independence, fearing lest the present war should do away with it.

Moslem as I am, I might likewise bemoan the lot of Islam. But my faith does not prevent my reason from ruling my emotions . . . Moslem independence has, thanks to Anwar and Tala'at, become a mere shadow of a past reality ! The fact is that Moslem independence was in no age nearer to annihilation than it is at this time, nor have the Ottoman Mohammedans ever suffered more crushing humiliation than they are now suffering because of Anwar, Tala'at and Jamal. Lands lost, provinces wrenched away, honour at stake—catastrophes unparalleled in the days of Abdul Hamid ! The consequence is that our enemies have become more covetous of our property and more

* The circulation of the leading Cairo dailies is approximately as follows :

El Moqattam	18,000
Al Ahram	15,000
El Muayyad	10,000

The latter paper ranked very close to the first before the outbreak of the war, but its circulation has rapidly fallen off because of certain extremely pro-British articles.

bold to do us harm. How then could we express sympathy at this time for Anwar and his friends ?

Besides, what is meant by the said ' independence ? ' Is it the shameful aspect that appeared at its worst in the Capitulations between the natives and foreigners, or is it the spirit of inequality that permeated those relations ? Why then should we be sorry if such ' independence ' was replaced by something better ? . . .

How can Anwar, Tala'at and Jamal rightly be called the defenders of Moslem independence while they throw themselves, and us with them, into the arms of the Germans who treat us as a man treats his goods and chattels. Nor do I understand how they can claim to be the real defenders of Mohammedan independence while the Germans are the absolute rulers of Turkey. These ' defenders ' are driving our children and brothers and cousins into the jaws of death, not to restore something that has been lost, but to enlarge the boundaries of the German Empire and hoist its flag over every fortress and citadel ! Yes, how can they claim to be the defenders of this independence while, ever since they came into power, they have punished every one who has had the welfare of Islam at heart ? How can they, while they are fighting against the Quran and the language of the Quran ? Yea, what right have those braggarts to boast of the government of Anwar and Tala'at and Jamal as being the real defence of Moslem freedom while the Ottoman Empire has, owing to them, fallen to the lowest depths of misery ?

Those who wish to defend a nation's independence should be able to rule justly and should try to ameliorate the condition of the land and of the people, watching over the people's welfare, and setting up justice and equity. It is only then, and not till then, that they may claim to be the real defenders of the land and the true watchers over its interests . . . But could Anwar and his party claim this ? And if not, what then is this independence of Islam which some are lamenting ?

Truly, I am unable to understand what these persons mean by ' Moslem independence.' Do they mean a state of things similar to that created by Anwar, Tala'at and Jamal ? Do they mean that the government, at whose head these three stand, is a Mohammedan government, and that to maintain its political status quo is to defend the interests and independence of Islam ? If this is what they mean, then I must protest and tell them that *such* is *not* a government that can be attributed to true Islam. The Quran is full of verses that condemn such people, and surely Islam disowns such men, for their behaviour and actions are far from being characteristic of Islam. Nor are such people to be considered as Moslems, even though they repeat the Two Formulas (the Creed) ; for true religion demands actions, not words. And the best proof that the government of Anwar and his party is far from Islam, and that Islam is far from it, is the present state of ruin and oppression in which the Ottoman Empire finds itself. It must be remembered that Islam is a religion of edification and liberty and justice, and not a religion of destruction and tyranny and oppression.

And if by Moslem independence they mean watching over the precepts and tenets of Islam so that no one should trespass against Mohammedan rites or rights, then let them meditate a little and they will see that those precepts and rites have always been preserved and defended (by the British) in every time and place. Is not Moslem

Egypt enjoying to-day under the British flag a greater religious freedom than any province under Turkish rule ? Is not Islam held in better respect than it ever dreams to be in Turkey ? Nay, is not the Arabic language, which is the language of our sacred religion, enjoying far greater attention than is ever accorded to it in the Ottoman Empire? And what shall I say of Moslem movements and Moslem projects which meet with greater support here than in any Turkish province ? Why then should we entertain the least doubt or fear as to the future condition of Islam when we know that our religion will be respected and our language and our projects aided all the way through ?

It is desired by some to have an independent Moslem state, free of all European control. Indeed, this is both legitimate and patriotic. But this requires first to purge the nation of all fanaticism and superstition, and to allow reason full control over passions. Moreover, active and energetic men are wanted who would work wisely and sincerely and with true moral courage to realise these golden dreams. But before attempting this, we must win the confidence of a great Power like England so that she may help us to attain our desires ; and such confidence is only possible if we can prove worthy of it. Let us work sincerely then if we wish to set up a truly independent Moslem empire, and let us remember that we are Arabs before anything else. Surely this is better than lamenting and fruitless grieving."

The pulse of Cairo quickly responds to the movements in Indian affairs. An instance of this occurred on February 9th, 1915, when *El-Moqattam* published in detail the address of the Viceroy on the occasion of the opening of the Legislative Council. The following are the most important passages :

" The Viceroy expressed his great regret at the action of Turkey in throwing in her lot with Germany. The heads of Islam had spared no effort to dissuade Turkey from joining in a war in which she had not the least chance of success. But the Turkish Government paid no heed to their advices. What is most wonderful to note is that while not a single Moslem is fighting under the German flag, hundreds and thousands of Mohammedans are fighting under British, Russian and French flags.

Anwar Pasha's party has driven Turkey into a most disastrous war. This is sacrificing Turkey as a service to Germany. It is in no wise a service to Islam. But no matter what the issue of this war may be, Moslem sacred places and shrines will remain intact, and Mohammedanism will ever remain a strong power in the world.

When the present war broke out rumours as to the possibility of Turkey's entering into the conflict began to spread, and many believed that the entire Moslem world would sympathise with Turkey as the representative Mohammedan power. But when the curtain was drawn aside and the latent factors became known, the Moslem world understood that the motive at heart was the interest of the German cause. All prejudices were cast aside, and Mohammedans rose as a man to show their genuine loyalty to the British Empire. It was evident that England was forced to take up the gauntlet thrown to her by Turkey.

The other Indian elements have been equally loyal to England.

From the beginning of the conflict India has stood unitedly for the Empire, and the Empire is not ungrateful for this glorious conduct."

A correspondent from Nigeria writes to the *Egyptian Mail* of the disastrous effects of widely circulated letters from German sources addressed to the Moslems of Nigeria. For example, a copy was discovered in a certain mosque, and shortly afterwards the messengers and policemen representing British rule were tortured and put to death.

Missionaries in the Lake Nyanza district state that the British have ordered the natives, both Mohammedan and pagan, to go out on the trail against German East Africa.

Thus on both sides intrigue and instigation are at work among the Moslems of Africa.

From Singapore the news comes through the Governor of the Straits Settlements that a deputation of the most influential Moslems passed a resolution on March 6th, at a mass meeting where over 3,000 were present, to be placed before His Majesty the King. The resolution reads: "We, the Moslems of Singapore, have from first to last been constant in our allegiance and in our loyalty to the Throne."

Similar assurances come from Sierra Leone.

It will be interesting to all who desire to know the Moslem mind of India to read the article by Mr. Syud Hosain in the February issue of the *Asiatic Review*, since published in the *Egyptian Gazette* (a British daily published in Cairo). A few sentences will give the main argument, and they may fitly close this article, for they express the sanest Moslem thought of Cairo as well as of Calcutta:

"The Government of India, shortly after the declaration of war between England and Turkey, made a most welcome announcement, which was published throughout India, that, as between the Ottoman Empire and Great Britain 'no religious question is involved.' Further, the categorical denial given to the reports of British designs on the holy places of Arabia and Mesopotamia, which had been sedulously set in circulation, proved most grateful to the Mohammedan community of India.

"The sources from which the Ottoman Caliphate derives its authority may be briefly set forth. It rests primarily, of course, on the 'impressive fact,' to borrow Sir George Birdwood's phrase, of the guardianship of Mecca and Medina—the holy cities of Islam. More-

over, ever since Selim I. obtained (1515-1517) a cession of the sacred office from the last Abbaside Caliph, Mutawakkil III., the visible tokens of the Caliphate—the Prophet's cloak (*chirgah*), his ensign (*sanjaq*), his staff, sabre, and bow, the 'sword of Omar,' and of the first two Caliphs—have remained hereditary in the house of Othman to this day. So that there is nothing nebulous in the sanction which the Ottoman Caliphate commands. The tangible reality of the institution may, conceivably, be wrested by conquest or secured by cession, when doubtless, the Islamic world would proceed, as in the past, to readjust its focus—and its faith. But those who contemplate this contingency should bear in mind that the Caliph must be a Moslem, and the Caliphate vested in an independent Moslem State, or Islamic sentiment would withhold its allegiance. Nothing but good can result from an appreciation by the British Government and public of these facts, and of the real feelings of the Mohammedan community, which is loyal to the core."

STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER TROWBRIDGE.
SELIM EFFENDI ABD-UL-AHAD.

Cairo.

NOTES ON CURRENT TOPICS

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Reference Bible Now Completed in Arabic.

The Rev. Franklin E. Hoskins, D.D., of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions at Beirut, Syria, announces the completion of the Reference Bible in Arabic. The task has included the adaptation of a new set of references to the Arabic text and the putting the whole First Font Reference Bible into electroplates. The preparation of the MSS. has occupied exactly seven years. The making of the plates will be completed in six years.

"It was the ninety-ninth anniversary of the founding of the American Bible Society, which brought to me the great joy and privilege of correcting the last proof page of the Reference Bible in Arabic, a task which has taxed eyes and nerves for nearly eight years, and which has consumed one-fourth of the best part of my life as a missionary," writes Dr. Hoskins. "It may not be a large event in the history of this big, busy world, but for me personally it means much, and with God's blessing the completed task will mean more for all who reverence and study the Word of God in Arabic for decades to come.

"The mission vote recommending the undertaking was taken in December, 1905. The actual writing of the manuscripts for the references began in February, 1908, and was completed exactly seven years later, in February, 1915. The first of the 1,424 electroplates was made in September, 1909, and the last will be ready in another month and the printing of the new IV. Edition ready by September, 1915.

"In close connection with this work and forming an extension of it has been the careful correction of all the plates of the various electroplate editions in Arabic of the Bible and parts of it.

"One need not remind the careful student of missions that this is only one of the big tasks in connection with the Arabic Bible, whose history extends from 1844 to the present hour. The fiftieth anniversary of the completed translation and publication of the first edition of the Arabic Bible was due on May 10th, 1915, but was unnoticed in any public way because of war conditions and in anticipation of the 100th anniversary of the founding of the American Bible Society, which will take place in 1916, when the work of Dr. Eli Smith and Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck will come up for special review in that connection.

"There is a special providence in the fact that this task has been brought to a close at this particular time when there is every probability of great changes within the Turkish Empire, If a period of reconstruction is about to begin, we are sure that the whole matter of religious freedom will find a large place in the new era."—*The New York Post.*

The American Christian Literature Society for Moslems.

A few years ago an American auxiliary Committee was formed to co-operate with the Nile Mission Press at Cairo. This Committee, with the co-operation of other American friends, has helped substantially to provide the new building for the Press in Cairo and to extend its usefulness by establishing prayer circles, disseminating information, and providing financial support. The interest in this work for Moslems has increased rapidly among Christians in America, so that the New York Committee has found growing opportunities for service. Prayer circles have been organised in several cities, and there is one auxiliary committee in Pittsburgh.

As the work of the New York Committee has increased, however, several practical difficulties have been encountered, among others the following :—

(1) The name, The Nile Mission Press, is not clearly descriptive of the purpose of the organisation.

(2) The Executive Committee of the Press is located in London, so that it has been impossible for members of the New York Committee to meet with them for the consideration of the plans and policies which regulate this work.

(3) While the Nile Press has distributed its literature over a large area, there are other agencies also engaged in the preparation of literature for Moslems and other lands that are not served by the Nile Press. In some of these agencies and lands the American constituency is deeply interested.

Therefore, after mature deliberation, the Committee in America have decided that the interests of this work for Mohammedans may best be served by the formation of a society known as " The American Christian Literature Society for Moslems," and the same was inaugurated on January 29th, 1915, by the adoption of a constitution and the election of a Board of Managers. Through such a society the sympathy and support of the American friends can be more readily enlisted for the Nile Press in Cairo, and the work of Dr. Zwemer, now serving as the Chairman of the Local Committee, may be made more effective and far-reaching, and at the same time help can be extended, as resources permit, for the distribution of Christian literature for Moslems in other parts of the world, such as Turkey, Persia, India, China and the Philippines.

The purpose of the organisers is not to form a new Missionary Society to send out missionaries or to conduct an independent work, but to act as a channel through which contributions may be made to existing agencies. The Society is composed of active workers in various denominations, and its charter will enable it to receive legacies and other gifts and to co-operate most effectively with all the Boards having work among Moslems. Several of these denominational Boards are officially represented on the Board of Managers of the Society.

These would ask our readers to pray for God's guidance and blessing on the Society and on the printed messages which are being scattered to carry the Gospel of Christ to Mohammedans. Plans have been made to extend the work and influence of the Society through auxiliaries and prayer circles in other cities, towns, and villages, for it is our desire to unite together in this simple way many Christians interested in this great international and interdenominational work.

Free Copies of "Mizan-ul-Haqq."

"The Religious Tract Society of London have added to the debt all engaged in missionary work among Mohammedans owe to them for the publication in Persian Urdu of the revised Mizan-ul-Haqq, by offering a free copy to all mission workers actually engaged in evangelistic effort among the followers of Islam. The conditions of this useful gift to those unable to purchase a copy for themselves are, that the recipients are workers in connection with a Mission and are recommended for the grant by their superintending missionary."—*The Punjab Mission News*, July, 1915.

Muslim Propaganda in Bengal.

To be forewarned is to be forearmed. To know the enemy's plan of campaign is one of the essentials of successful strategy. To push an objectless attack, irrespective of the enemy's dispositions, is to court failure, or at least to depreciate the value of one's efforts. In the farflung battle-line of Bengal, Christian workers ought to know what Islam is doing. They ought to have some acquaintance with the plans Islam is making, and should be familiar with the weapons Islam is using.

Not every missionary in Bengal knows of the "Muslim Mission," which is financed and directed by the "Society of Learned Men of Bengal." This Mission, which represents and controls the aggressive propaganda of militant Islam in the Province of Bengal, has recently shown renewed activity in the direct preaching of Islam. A substantial donation of Rs. 25,000 has heartened its leaders, and a steady stream of smaller donations week by week has suggested to them the launching of a vigourous crusade. In a recent number of the *Muhammadi*, a Bengali weekly, thirty preachers are asked for, and salaries ranging from Rs. 15 to Rs. 75 offered. A leading feature of the new movement is its appreciation of the value of the press. A new illustrated monthly magazine called *All Islam* is to be started, one of the main objects of which is to answer "the misrepresentations and calumnies of Christian Missionaries." A series of booklets is also to be published in the Bengali language, dealing largely with controversial matters. In these latter, again, Christianity is marked for special attack. The first two of the series, recently published, lie before me. One is entitled, "The preaching of Islam in India," and the other "Was Jesus Sinless?" The first undertakes to prove that at no time was Islam spread by force in India. The allegations to the contrary by "deceitful Christian authors" are proved, to the satisfaction of the author, to be "vain and baseless assumptions."

The second of the booklets mentioned is a blasphemous attack on the character and person of our Blessed Lord, and reveals in the author, Maulana Muhammad Akram Khan, a callous disregard for the very decencies of religious controversy. Indeed, the very bitterness of the author's tone seems to indicate that recent attacks upon the character of Mohammed have struck home. This booklet has little in it that we have not seen before. The usual objections to the doctrine of Christ's sinlessness are raised, such as His "inherited sinfulness from Adam," His "abuse" of the Scribes and Pharisees, His "disrespect" shown to his Mother, His "habitual use of wine," His "wanton destruction of the property (*i.e.*, the swine) of some poor people," His petulant "want of self-control" as shown in the destruction of the fig-tree, etc. The author closes his venomous attack with the remark

that he has hoisted the Christian Padris with their own petard, and proved from their own fictitious scriptures that as one sinner cannot save another sinner, so Jesus " who is sometimes man, and sometimes God," cannot be a Saviour. He then goes on to say that good Mohammedans believe in the sinlessness of all the Prophets, Jesus included. The latter, however, was not the chimerical and imaginary being described in the book which Christians have written and called the Bible.

Another Muslim anti-Christian publication at present being circulated in Bengal is a scurrilous pamphlet entitled " The destroyer of the Trinity." This book is even more offensive in tone than the one just described. Its blasphemous ridiculing of the Holy Trinity, and its coarse jests about the limitless God being contained in the womb of the Virgin Mary, make painful reading for the Christian. Books such as we have been describing have a baneful influence upon half-educated people, and are even being used to try and unsettle Christian converts. One could wish all students for the Christian Ministry in our theological colleges in India could be taken carefully through such books, so that when they are called upon to meet these objections, often thrown at them in the midst of a bazaar address, they may be prepared to demonstrate the shallowness of the arguments used. Too often they hear them for the first time, not in the judicial atmosphere of the College class, but in the heat of the bazaar argument, and are, consequently, at a loss for the right reply.

This new movement in Bengal constitutes a call to renewed efforts upon our part to supply Christian literature for the people. It also furnishes an insistent reason for the more careful study of Islam.

WILLIAM GOLDSACK.

Present Inactivity of the Moslem League.

In view of the above note, the following extracts from the Bengal press are of special interest. They testify to the dissatisfaction with their own institutions which is abroad among the Moslem leaders in Bengal.

(1) Under the title " Our Moribund Organisations," a Moslem Patriot writes: " The *Mussalman* of Calcutta laments over the inactivities of the Moslem League and the Bengal Presidency Mohamedan Educational Conference. The two organisations were re-organised at Dacca a year ago, when the Hon'ble Moulvi A. K. Fazlul Haq and the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Ali Chowdhury became secretaries respectively. There was a promising outlook in the beginning, but sad to state their activities did not continue long. Our contemporary says that the League is not only moribund but it is grossly mismanaged. There are several questions affecting the welfare of the community to which no attention is paid by the League. When any resolutions are carried at the meetings of the council of the League, often they are not given effect to. Is it not a pity that our people should have become so selfish that they do not care what becomes of the interests of others ? When one writes on such an unpleasant topic as this, it is easy to blame the secretaries, but what of the council members and other office-bearers who co-operate with the former less than the public is aware of ? Do they whip the secretary into activity ? I fear not. Why then blame the secretaries alone when organisations get into a moribund condition ? The fact is that the so-called civilisation

and the so-called higher and collegiate education are made instruments for our own selfish purposes to become famous or rich—and not as stimulants to serve others. The spirit of service should be awakened in us. I am not sure whether even the highest University education has that element in it which will shake us to our very foundation and help us to direct our activities in the service of our brethren."

(2) At the annual meeting of the District Moslem League, held at Magrahat, Bengal, in June, Maulavi Abdul Karim began his address as follows :—

" Gentlemen,—It pains me very much to have to say that Islam with all its high ideals of morality and its ennobling ethics, seems to have failed to produce any very appreciable effect on the character of the Musalmans of Bengal. Barring honourable exceptions, as a body I am afraid they cannot claim to have been as pious as Islam would enjoin them to be. The very thought of the severest forms of punishment prescribed in the Koran for lying, robbery, rape and other sinful acts, makes one's hair stand on end, and yet some of those who call themselves Musalmans do not hesitate to commit such crimes. It is perhaps not a quite unfamiliar sight to see in a court that a man who goes there with a long string of beads in his hand and says his midday prayers there, has no other business to attend the court than to give false evidence in a case in which he is interested. I hope this lamentable state of things is not so prevalent elsewhere as here. If this is the case, why has Islam failed to produce the same effect upon the Musalmans of Bengal as upon those of other countries ? It is difficult to give a ready answer to this question. If I mistake not, the cause is to be found in the fact that Islam fails to touch the heart of the bulk of the Musalmans of Bengal, who do not know Arabic or even Urdu. The inspiring sermons that should have stirred their hearst, fall flat upon their ears, and the noble words sound as gibberish and mummeries simply because they are couched in a language that is not comprehensible to the hearers."

The Village Mohammedan of India.

In a recent number of *The Foreign Field*, Rev. F. Colyer Sackett has an interesting account of the village Mohammedan in North India, and shows that the way to win him is by mercy and kindness, not by running roughshod over his beliefs, but by showing one's Christianity in brotherliness.

" The Muhammadan is the hardest nut we have to crack, our most difficult problem, and though we are busy leading others into the fold, there always lurks in the background of our minds the sorrow at seeing these without, not accepting the call nor asking for admittance.

" It is not wise to have too many irons in the fire at once, and were the opportunity offered to us to make a definite attempt to win the Muhammadan as well as the outcast Hindu, we could not take advantage of it without doubling our agencies for Christian work. Here is a new language, a people with a different outlook upon life and a different religion—an occasion making new demands. *Now if we do not face the problem of the village Muhammadan, the state of our village Christianity in his neighbourhood will remain uncertain and impure, for by the vicious sanctions of his belief he becomes the bane of its lowly life and the blight to all its growth.* What are we to do ?

" It seems a worthless task watering a plant when there is a grub at the root. Query : Why not deal with the grub ? "

Among the Mapillas of Travancore.

Rev. W. J. Richards, D.D., who has worked for thirty-five years in Travancore, records some of his experiences in bringing the Gospel to the Mohammedans. He says that generally they are a thrifty, pushing race, and can be distinguished from the rest of the population by their white skull-cap ; and that from the time a man wears this distinctive garb, " he is a brother of a sturdy clan standing together for offence and defence against all comers." They call themselves the " People of the Fourth Religion," and assert : " First came the Law, the revelation to Moses ; second the Psalms, to David ; third the *Injil* or Gospel, to Jesus ; and fourth and last, the Koran to Mohammed." This, in their opinion, supersedes all the others, and is the crown and perfection of God's revelation and will, and is inspired, not only every word and syllable, but even the tone in which it must be pronounced. You can imagine with what firmness people ignorant of history and brought up in this belief despise all other religions . . .

" For some years the Moslems have taken to attacking Christianity in their turn, and preaching in the streets. They even publish tracts and handbills against Christ and the Gospel, being sometimes exceedingly obscene in their remarks, sometimes full of an ignorant zeal, charging us with irreverence because we do not observe washings of the body at prayer time. No doubt it is a good thing when Moslems begin to meet Christianty with their own weapons of argument and preaching, instead of violence."

The Rev. Canon E. Sell.

All missionary workers in the Moslem world and all students of Islam know how much we owe to Canon E. Sell for his literary labours. He has recently returned to England, and it will interest all his friends to learn that Moslems and Hindus also admire this soldier of the Cross, who has not only forged and used strong weapons but has made hearts captive for Christ. In *United India and Native States*, a Christian Hindu writes :

" Canon Sell, besides being a missionary of the enlightened type, is an educationist, scholar, author, and a sincere well-wisher of Indian Mussalmans. He repeatedly drew the attention of the authorities to the deplorable condition of the general majority of the Mohamedans of the Presidency, and much of their progress is undoubtedly the result of his efforts to improve their lot. Under these circumstances, it is not to be wondered that the Mohamedans regard him, notwithstanding the fact of his being a Christian missionary, with something of the love and affection felt towards the late Mr. Justice Boddam. His ' Faith of Islam ' has long been recognised as a standard work on the subject, comparable in some respects to Mr. Ameer Ali's monumental work on the same subject. Another well-known work from his pen is the ' Life of Mohamed.' He was also the author of numerous other works, which bear testimony to his scholarship and versatility."

Exaggerated Statistics.

Among ignorant Moslems one is not surprised to find exaggerated ideas of the strength of the world of Islam in numbers and in prestige. It is time, however, that educated Moslems should cease deceiving themselves and others by statistics that rest on the imagination only. We were surprised to read in an article on " the Caliphate " in the June number of the *Contemporary Review*, by Ameer Ali, that " the number

of Moslems inhabiting the globe is variously estimated at 350 to 400 millions!" And although no one, except the Emperor of Germany in his famous address at Damascus, ever put the total population of the Moslem world *as high* as 300 millions, Ameer Ali says, "assuming the *lowest* estimate of 300 millions to be nearer the mark, etc." It is easy to see how so large a total is obtained when, in spite of the recent carefully corrected estimates for China, this writer speaks of its thirty-five million Moslems! The Shiah sect, which scarcely has ten million adherents, he puts at "thirty millions," and in French African possessions he finds "thirty or forty millions" who are Moslems.

Moslem Unrest at Delhi.

In *The Delhi Mission News* for July, the Rev. G. Hibbert-Ware writes: "Affairs have been more critical in this part of India than the public at home is aware. The conspiracy trials, which are now going on, are letting out to the world how widespread and unscrupulous was the conspiracy to take advantage of the war to overthrow British rule in India. Fortunately the Government was exceedingly wide awake to the possibilities of the situation. Warned by the riot which followed the return of the Komagatu Maru from Canada to India, and by the discovery that this seemingly innocent batch of emigrants seeking a new home contained a considerable proportion of desperate criminals, the Government has everywhere taken precautions which at any other time might appear absurdly excessive.

Two personal incidents, perhaps only interesting because they are personal, may illustrate what I mean by these precautions. I was engaged to give a lecture on February 22nd to the Territorials in Delhi. A couple of hours before the time appointed I received a message that at about two o'clock the previous day, all the British troops had been suddenly roused, ammunition cases opened, and a large quantity of rounds served out; and the men had been under arms all night. They were to be under arms all the next night, and consequently there was to be no audience and no lecture. We now know that the mutiny had first been arranged to break out on that very date, that the date had been changed, and that the conspirators had failed to keep their engagements with one another.

The other incident was at Ferozepore. I was preaching for the Mission at the parade service, and observed with surprise that every door of the church was guarded by two British soldiers, fully armed. The chaplain told me my surprise was not so great as it would have been on several previous Sundays, when the whole church had been surrounded by armed troops. It has transpired that Ferozepore was one of the three arsenals of the Panjab, which it was designed by the conspirators to seize by treachery."

In Syria and Palestine.

The Turkish authorities have seized and confiscated the training college of the British Syrian Mission at Beirut, also buildings at Baalbec and Damascus. The Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society's hospital at Damascus, which was under Dr. F. Mackinnon, has also been seized.

The *Missionary Herald* states that a building of the A.B.C.F.M. in Asia Minor was seized, the cross upon it taken down and a crescent substituted, and the building renamed the "Patience Mosque," in recognition of the patience the Turks have so long shown in hearing the bell call to Christian worship!

The Power of Medical Missions.

The Rev. Canon Sterling, M.B., who has been at the head of the C.M.S. hospital at Gaza, a stronghold of Mohammedanism, for over twenty-one years, before coming home from Palestine, was imprisoned by the Turkish authorities. He writes in the *C.M.S. Gazette* for June : " The kindness and sympathy shown to me by all classes on my internment bespoke a true and sincere attachment. No greater proof could have been given by them of the warm friendship which years of service in their midst had generated. On the day of my seizure by the Government a well-to-do Mohammedan went through the market crying aloud, ' Why has Dr. Sterling been imprisoned ? He visits our homes, he sees our wives and children.' Another Mohammedan friend sent £8 to my wife to meet any pressing needs, and he again urged the acceptance of a like sum on my release from prison. The German miller of the town, an acquaintance of many years' standing, sent £10 to my wife, and many others sympathetically inquired if they could help us in any way. There could be no question as to the existence of Arab loyalty. Genuine regrets were expressed by all for any personal inconvenience we might have suffered."

Loyal Mohammedans in Nigeria.

We read in *United Empire* that " Sir Frederick Lugard, Governor-General, has forwarded to the Colonial Office interesting evidences of the loyalty of the Mohammedans in every part of Nigeria. There are five million Mohammedans in the northern states, spread over an area of 150,000 miles, from Sokoto to Lake Chad and southwards to the rivers Benue and Niger. The Emirs of the northern province placed £38,000 at the Governor-General's disposal to meet expenses and losses due to the War. Some of the letters accompanying these gifts are of peculiar interest. The Emir of Bornu, who has been of great assistance in furnishing carriers, transport, food, etc., quotes the Prophet : " Those who break friendship, kill them like pagans. If you kill them, perhaps they will repent " ; and in asking that some money subscribed by him in February for other purposes shall be diverted to the War, suggests that part of it should still go to the schools " because they do good for my country, as I have seen in the case of my own sons." The Emir of Bida says : " We desire to inform you that we follow you at all times and without hesitation " ; and the Emir of Jenraa, with " a small amount of £40 from our Treasury," asks, " Of our little we hope that you will take the wish and make it great." The Emir of Kontagora sends £200, put aside for improving the land, stating that he will do this at his own charge. The Tripoli Arabs resident in Kano, and traders in every principal town of Nigeria, unanimously condemn the attitude of " the Sultan of Stamboul," and express their satisfaction with British rule. One small community near Calabar, which gets a living by fishing in Cameroons waters, sends £40 as a thankoffering for release from German interference."

Good News from Nigeria.

In the General Review of the Church Missionary Society for the past year (1914-15) we read : " Nearly all our missionaries in their letters urge the need of reinforcements. In many parts of Nigeria the door is wide open for a great spiritual harvest, which depends, under God, simply upon the supply of men to gather it in. The mission conducted by Mr. and Mrs. Trevelyan Snow early in the year proved

a great blessing to many of our Christian congregations in Southern Nigeria. In the Nupe country, mainly a Moslem district, of which Bida is the centre, a real movement in favour of Christianity is reported. The Cambridge University Missionary Party at Panyam have been encouraged by 'progress all along the line,' despite some great difficulties. Both at Panyam and Zaria the first Christian marriages have been solemnised.

The new Government code issued for that country emphasises in a marked way the necessity of religion in any true system of education, and the Governor's memorandum recognises that 'religion is a force in the formation of character and of good citizens which cannot be neglected without disastrous results.'"

The Outlook in Ispahan, Persia.

In the same report we learn of conditions in Persia that are greatly encouraging: "At Ispahan the outlook is bright and conditions increasingly favourable. There is no longer the old terror of confessing Christ, but a certain boldness in letting relatives know of their change of heart and faith, and a healthy profession before converts and inquirers. On Easter Day, 1914, there were 628 in church besides a small overflow service. Many of the villages, especially round Ispahan, are now open to evangelistic work."

A Call to Jihad in Northern Persia.

We are indebted to *The Missionary Review of the World* for the following translation of a recent call to murder Christians circulated in Northern Persia by the Turks:—

"'Kill them: God will punish them in your hand and put them to shame; and ye will overcome them. He will rejoice the hearts of believers, and take away the wrath from the hearts of unbelievers.' (Text of the Koran).

Oh ye faithful! Although we are summoning you to a *jihad*, where is your army? What do you wait for? The foe has summoned you on all sides with fire. See the House of God (Mecca), the point toward which all Islam turns; behold the sacred tomb of Mohammed, the object of the gaze of the faithful. Have you considered these matters? By your inaction and silence the enemy is gaining strength. What if these two sacred places should be taken? . . .

How often have the savage Russians, the traitorous English, the Frenchmen, born of impure parentage yet proud in their baseness, planted their unclean flags upon your pure and holy mountains? How often have they seized you by your lifeless, spiritless feet and hands, and rolled you in the mire? Oh, you poor, helpless people of India, of the Oxus and of the orphan islands, of Tunis, and you wretched tribes of Turkey! Oh, Bokhara and Turkestan, dying under the bloody hand of Russia! Oh you falling mosques, overturned pulpits, crumbling minarets, the ornaments of the country, from which the voice of God has sounded forth; but where the proclamation of the Unity, which once made the mountains to tremble, is now heard only in whispers!

Go forth, ye Moslems, into the places of blood and groans: there see the ruined countries of Islam, and learn a lesson. Look about you; every day the edifice erected by Islam is being torn down stone by stone. Aside from the empire of Turkey, is there any prop left to Islam?

Oh ye people of the Unity! Read your history! Look at the despised graves of your kings! If you desire honour and glory, houris and damsels, behold all are awaiting you. Eternal joys, the shade of green trees, houris, angels are in the grasp of your sword. Think of these. But if you rather think of earthly things, know that weakness, dishonour, and oppression will surround you in this world like a ring of fire, and in the next world you will be cast out to live in torments. For if you throw down your arms and leave the battlefield you will bring upon your heads bitter anguish. Do you not understand this? You have become slaves of the people of the Cross. . . .

Behold! God has bestowed upon you a greater favour. The tears of the faithful for centuries past are bearing fruit. Your enemies are trembling under your hand. Attack them from every side. Whenever you meet them, kill them. Quicken the failing proclamation of the Unity by the fire of your rifles and cannon, and by the blows of your swords and knives. Cause the minarets and mountains and wildernesses to resound once more with the cry, 'Allah! Allah!'

Jihad! Jihad! Oh, Moslems, blow the trumpet everywhere, of people of the Unity. The great God is ordering you to fight with your foes everywhere. God will put them to shame in your hands; He will give you the victory; He will quench the fire of their hate. Do not forget. God has purchased the souls and the property of the faithful. In exchange He gives you the houris and damsels of heaven."

The War and Missions in Zanzibar.

The missions of German Societies in West Africa and in the Sudan have suffered greatly because of the war by the expulsion or the internment of workers, and so have the British missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in East Africa. The Bishop of Zanzibar writes that "before the war we really had much reason to be very hopeful for the future." Then came the crash; work was stopped and the workers interned. He goes on to say that we must think rightly and justly of the situation and not indulge in cheap platitudes about the will of God.

"For we all know that although it is God's will that we accept the situation and trust Him through it, the war was not His will. He allowed it, because we made it inevitable, we human fools, by our dealings with one another and our independence of His laws; but He cannot have liked it or wished it to be. Like the Crucifixion, it had been made inevitable by man's sin. And as in the Passion so in the consequences of this war, God will bear the burden, making it His own. But man must make that burden his, just because it is God's."

Islam and the Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia, 1912-1913.

The volume containing the reports of these conferences is undoubtedly of the greatest value as a book of reference for co-operation and comity, but it is distinctly disappointing in its references to the Moslem problem. One would think that after the Lucknow Conference, and especially in fields like India with over sixty-seven million Moslems, the present day conditions and opportunities would have received fuller discussion and larger treatment. The only reference to Islam as a religious system in the whole volume occurs in the report of the Singapore Conference:

"No Christian work is being done at the present time among Mohammedans on the Malay Peninsula and in Eastern Sumatra, with the single exception of the medical mission to women in Malacca. The time has come when the whole question of the evangelisation of the Malays should be carefully considered. In order to stem the advance of Islam, it is very important that no time should be lost in sending missionaries both to the indigenous heathen and to Chinese and Indian immigrants."

The Colombo Conference mentions Moslems as neglected, and at Allahabad and Calcutta the missionary force was described as inadequate to meet their needs; the India National Conference states that the Mohammedans of the Empire "are not being effectively reached, especially in South and Mid-India."

In the findings of the conferences held in China, attention is drawn to the great need of work among Moslems. In the three provinces of Chekiang, Kiangsu, and Anhwei, "there are at least 297,500 Moslems who are practically untouched," and "there is a very large Mohammedan population in the provinces covered by this conference (Chihli, Honan, Shansi, Kansu, Manchuria, Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan) for special work among whom until this year no workers have been set apart." In view of the great need the China National Conference recommends that "specially equipped men and women be appointed to that work."

The very meagreness of these references adds to their pathos, and there surely is a call for a determined effort both in China and in India to face the Moslem problem.

The Death of Raymond Lull.

In connection with the sixth centenary observance of Lull's martyrdom, the following beautiful verses by Edward Shillito, appeared in *The Nation*:

"*He who loves not lives not.*"

"To Bugia six hundred years ago
Came Raymond Lull, who lived not till he loved,
But since he learned the art of Love, will die
Only when dies the Saviour Crucified.
The knights, his equals, with the sword and flame
Fared forth to meet the Crescent. Raymond knew
Another way; and from Christ's armoury
He took his sword—his shield, the truth, and all
The skill of Love to pierce the faithless heart.

. . . .

But in the market-place at Bugia
They stoned for all his fourscore years
The foe, who fought them with the power of Love.
And sweet for him to take the martyr's road,
The swift and coveted road.
So Love blazed forth one moment, then the dark
Sank on the world. The knights of Christendom
Still fought the Saracen with sword and spear,
And rust defaced the weapons Raymond used.
But dreamers told how sailors passing by
The harbour, when the night had fallen, saw
A pyramid of fire leap to the skies,
Then die away. Six hundred years ago!"

TOPICS FOR INTERCESSION

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THE following topics for prayer and praise were suggested by the Rev. James L. Barton, D.D., of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in connection with the Lull Sexcentenary. We commend them to our readers.

1. Thanksgiving and praise that six hundred years ago the Spirit of God came upon Raymond Lull, leading him to consecrate his masterly talent and to give his life in showing the way to winning approach to the Mohammedans.
2. That under the providence of God the entire Moslem world is now so accessible to the approach of the Christian missionary.
3. That we see now so many indications of the turning of the hearts of many Moslems to Jesus Christ as their only comfort and hope.
4. That so many Christian missionaries have become established, and have firmly planted Christian institutions among the Moslems of Arabia, Egypt, North Africa, the Sudan, Persia, Turkey, Syria, India, and many other regions in which Mohammedans in large numbers dwell.
5. Petition that the missionaries may be filled with the Spirit of God and of Christ, and that with the love which carried Raymond Lull to his martyrdom they may reveal the great heart of their Lord.
6. That divine favour may rest upon those who prepare Christian literature for Moslems, and upon the presses, the colporteurs and the printed page; that it may carry the divine seed to fields prepared by the Holy Spirit.
7. That those who teach in the schools attended by Moslems may be alert and conscious of the opportunity they have of training true apostles to the Mohammedans.
8. That Moslem converts to Christianity may be given boldness in the face of persecution, and divine strength in the days of trial, to stand unflinchingly for Christ.
9. That in the sweeping and fundamental changes taking place in Persia and Turkey, no new obstacles be thrown in the way of the advance of the Christian cause; that the lives of missionaries and Christian leaders and Christian institutions be safeguarded, and that out of it all there may come expanding opportunities.
10. That Christ may come with new power and with saving grace to the great number of Mohammedans in many countries who are freely revealing their sense of despair for the triumph of their ancestral faith.
11. That Jesus Christ may be so lifted up before the Moslems of all the world that they, beholding, may fall at His feet and exclaim, "My Lord and my God."
12. That the Church at home be aroused to a consciousness of its opportunity and responsibility in the Moslem world, and that the martyrdom of Raymond Lull produce a rich harvest both at home and abroad.

BOOK REVIEWS

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Deutschland und der Islam. Von Dr. C. H. Becker, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt Stuttgart und Berlin. pp. 35. 1914. Price 50 pfg.

Politique Musulmane de la Hollande. Par Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje. Ernest Leroux, Paris. Pp. 133. 1911.

The Holy War : "Made in Germany." By Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje. G. P. Putnam Sons, New York and London. 16mo ; pp. 82. 1915. 2*s.* 6*d.*

We group these three volumes, of unequal size and merit and of different dates together, as they deal with one subject, viz. : Pan-Islamism and European governments. The last named is in criticism of the first, and the other volume by Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje sets forth at length his ideas on the right relations that should obtain between Colonial governments and Islam. This is by far the most important of the three, and we, therefore, commend it again ; a lengthy review of the book (by two writers) appeared under its Dutch title, "Nederland en de Islam" in The Moslem World, October, 1911. The present volume is a French translation reprinted from *La Revue du Monde Musulman*. It is worthy of note that even then this great authority came to the conclusion that the process of inner decay in Islam was advancing with surprising speed, and that every possibility of reform even by mysticism was entirely shut out. No form of Pan-Islamism should be allowed expression in the Dutch colonies, although freedom of worship should be granted to all classes. Teaching in regard to Jihad and every manner of Turkish intrigue should be prohibited. The facts are so carefully presented and arrayed with such authority as comes from expert knowledge and wide experience that we again commend these studies to all who have administrative responsibility in Moslem lands.

The little pamphlet by Professor Becker belongs to a series of German books on the war, and is, therefore, naturally a case of special pleading. Indeed, Dr. Hurgronje shows conclusively in his latest book that Professor Becker has utterly changed his views, as have other writers in Germany, because of the new alliance with Turkey. "It seems inexplicable to me," he says, "that my esteemed colleague, Professor C. H. Becker, at Bonn, who until recently honourably represented the science of Islam in the Colonial Institute at Hamburg, should also have been swept away by the incredible *jihad*-craze, which at present seems to possess German statesmen." Until recently Becker ("through ignorance" he now confesses) "considered the emphasising of the Caliph-title by Germany a mistake," but since then he has joyfully discovered that the Kaiser's visit to Damascus in 1898 and the subsequent policy of Germany in Turkey give proof that her

statesmen have from the first " taken Islam into account as an international factor." Hence the Holy War : " Made in Germany." This exceedingly clever exposure of the present attitude in Germany and their attempt toward a " Holy War " appeared first in the Dutch periodical *De Gids* (No. 1, 1915), and has been ably translated by Professor Joseph E. Gillet, of the University of Wisconsin. It excited great interest in Holland, and will be widely read now by all who are watching the international struggle at the Dardanelles.

The book begins by showing why Islam lost all its political power and came under European influence, so that even in Turkey the appearance of power was only maintained " by a certain cleverness in balancing between the large powers which are crying for its tutelage." The learned author then shows how Moslems themselves fully understand the situation. The Mohammedans of the educated classes are " almost ashamed of the presumption expressed by the teaching of the *Jihad*, and try hard to prove that the law itself restricts its application to circumstances which do not occur any more." The Caliphate itself had become an empty honour, and was not even acknowledged in countries outside of the sphere of Turkish influence. In Morocco it was ignored and in Persia it was not recognised. Nor could the Young Turks any more than Abd-ul-Hamid put real life into the Caliphate. " That gang of shallow intriguers was little qualified to lead a serious international movement." Pan-Islamism's programme, he says, is " worn out and flagrantly unpracticable." After showing the wrong conception prevalent, even among statesmen, regarding the idea of a *jihad* as a *special* Mohammedan religious war, the author rightly states that for no Moslem does the question have any meaning " whether the Sultan has decreed a holy war." For the true Moslem there is no war except against infidels, and *all* wars are, therefore, religious.

The remainder of the book, pp. 34-82, introduces Germany and her spokesmen, especially Hugo Grothe, Becker and Hartmann. All of them are shown to be at sea regarding the facts, and at pains to make the worst appear the better reason for this Holy War against the Allies. " What may not Turkey exclaim *now*," he says (quoting Hartmann's word a few years ago, ' Turkey can only exclaim, Heaven protect me against my friends '), " now, that her best friend is exciting her to religious war, and presently turns over to her the Mohammedan prisoners who fought against Germany in order to submit them to a political-religious conversion cure ? " The result of Germany's attempt to fire the magazine of Moslem fanaticism, we may thank God, was not as expected. And we agree with Dr. Hurgronje that " within a not very long time a number of German writings will testify that also in Germany indignation has been aroused by the despicable game that is being played with the Caliphate and the holy war."

S. M. Zwemer.

Afrikanische Rechtsgebräuche. Hamburgische Vorträge von Carl Meinhof. Buchhandlung der Berliner Evang. Missionsgesellschaft. Berlin. 12mo ; pp. 162. 1914. 4 marks.

A most carefully prepared monograph on native African law by one who is well-known as an authority on African languages and folklore, and who has visited many parts of the great continent. The book consists of two parts. The first more or less popular (in the German sense), and the second more particularly for jurists. Professor Meinhof deals in the earlier part with the origin of law among the tribes of Africa and its animistic peoples ; marriage customs ;

social laws ; property rights and transfer ; the character and effect of criminal law ; the law of procedure in trial and pleading ; the community laws or statecraft in its primitive forms ; and, finally, the influence on all this of foreign influence. He refers especially to Christianity in its corrupted form as regards Abyssinia, to Islam in all North and East Africa, and to European Colonial Governments generally. This last section of Part I. is of most interest since African laws and customs once prevalent and dominant are now gradually being superceded by the code of Islam or other codes, introduced from Europe.

The influence of Moslem law has as its centre for all Africa, Cairo. Only quite recently Tripoli and Morocco have begun to exert an influence in this direction. One of the reasons for the rapid spread of Islam is that its system of law included ample provision for the three things dear to the native : tribal-grouping, polygamy and slavery. The spirit of Moslem law is closer to the mind of the African than that of European laws ; the demands are not so high, the loop-holes are larger, and the sense of Divine authority attractive. We have no space for further notice of this most interesting and important contribution to a subject which even in the large bibliography given by the author, has not before been adequately treated. Needless to say, the book speaks favourably of Christian missions. S. M. ZWEMER.

A History of Events in Egypt from 1798 to 1914. By ARTHUR E. P. BROME WEIGALL. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 12mo ; pp. 312. 1915. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

An Englishman's Recollections of Egypt, 1863-1887, with an epilogue dealing with the present time, 1914. By Baron DE KUSEL (BEY). John Lane, London. 12mo ; pp. 352. 1915. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

Both of these attractive volumes deal with the modern history of Egypt, and are written by those long in the service of the Egyptian Government ; the former by the late Inspector-General of Antiquities, the latter sometime English controller-general of the Egyptian customs department. The books, however, are of quite unequal value. Baron de Kusel is always interesting, and even when he relates unimportant and personal details, his pages hold the reader's attention ; but he is in no sense a historian, and the information given is scrappy and often one-sided. He never forgets himself—the good turns he did to others or the injuries he suffered. Mr. Weigall's name appears only on the title-page of his book, and he has the true art of standing far enough away from the canvas to get a right perspective. Although his earlier works deal entirely with ancient Egypt and its antiquities, that is perhaps the very reason why he can write the modern history of the same nation so well. He has faith and " unbounded confidence in the ability of the Egyptian nation to re-establish its greatness under our very eyes, and by England's high-minded aid to become, as the new Sultan has said, ' a centre of intensive cultivation, both moral and material.' "

The truly fascinating story of a century of honour and dishonour, of invasion and development, is skilfully grouped and told in the lives of seven men who might be called the builders of the new Egypt : Napoleon Bonaparte, Mohammed Ali, Ismail Pasha, Ahmed Pasha Arabi, Lord Cromer, Sir Eldon Gorst, and Lord Kitchener. The Egyptian campaign displayed the great Corsican at his worst showing how he completely misunderstood the Orient and failed to

deceive Moslems by his profession of Islam. "To further his personal ambitions he insulted Christianity and attempted to make a fool of Islam. He made the colossal mistake of supposing that to rule the Orient he must pose as an Oriental." Napoleon lost Egypt, but the influence of his presence and that of his army remained. The author shows how Mohammed Ali first brought Egypt after the French defeat into the forefront of international politics, and by his rugged personality dominated the situation in the Near East. As a word-painter of the spendthrift, Pasha Ismail, the author is at his best. "His tangled red eyebrows screened two eyes which had no resemblance one to the other nor acted in unison. The left eyelid drooped, and while his mind was engaged in thought the eye became almost closed but at the same time his right orbit wandered . . . so that it came to be said of him that he heard with one eye and spake with the other." One year after his accession this man had spent every penny in the treasury and was obliged to borrow six million pounds at a ruinous rate of interest. The story of Arabi Pasha and his rebellion closes the first part of the book and introduces the second—that of the British occupation, and finally the protectorate. The reflections cast on Gordon are scarcely justified, and one must read the recollections of De Kusel to realise that there is a defence possible even for the extravagances of Ismail Pasha. In a sense the two books under review supplement one another, although the history is in every way superior to the diary of events. The former is written carefully and in scholarly style; the latter shows that Baron de Kusel's knowledge of Arabic must be very elementary. How else can one explain such expressions as: "*Ach-Wanie* (our brother), *Il Hower-el-usfar* (cholera), *moyer* (worker), and (worse than a score of others) *Allah el Akbar La Illah, illa Allah wa ashadwar Mohammadur Rasul il Allah.*" Each volume has an excellent index and both are well printed and illustrated. S. M. ZWEMER.

Italy's Foreign and Colonial Policy. By Senator TOMMASO TITTONI. Smith, Elder and Company, London. 1914. pp. 334. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

This important volume consists of a selection from the speeches delivered in the Italian Parliament by the Minister of Foreign Affairs during his six years of office, from 1903 to 1909. The English translation is by Baron Bernardo Quaranta di San Severino, and is dedicated to the Right Honourable Arthur James Balfour. The book consists of three parts, entitled respectively, Italy's Foreign Policy, her Emigration problem and her Colonial Policy in Africa. It will perhaps come as a surprise to many English readers to learn from these pages how many points of contact exist between British and Italian political interests and spheres of diplomatic action.

Baron di San Severino is here the mouthpiece of one of the ablest of Italian Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Senator Tommaso Tittoni, recently Ambassador to the Court of St. James, a personal friend of King Edward VII., and actually Ambassador to France. He is the statesman who, with consummate tact, prepared the ground for the foundation of Italy's North African Empire, and the distinctive feature of whose political programme has ever been, to quote his own words, "Fidelity to the Triple Alliance, Friendship for France, Friendship for England." The book shows, however, almost as clearly as the entrance of Italy into the European War, how utterly impossible was the programme proposed; fidelity to the Triple Alliance proved

impossible, and Italy's Foreign and Colonial Policy will doubtless be far different after the war from what it was before.

The speeches that deal with Somaliland, the Balkan peninsula and the Tripoli question, will prove of the greatest interest to the readers of our Quarterly. In 1905 Tittoni said, " If we do not wish to occupy Tripoli at present, that does not mean our action there should be nil. It is evident that the rights we have upon Tripoli for the future must give us, even at present, a preference in the economic field in directing our capital to that region and in promoting commercial currents and agrarian and industrial enterprises. We count upon doing this with the full consent of the Sublime Porte, with which we are in the best relations and which should have the greatest interest in facilitating Italy's peaceful and civilising action . . ." Those who are unused to the tortuous ways of diplomacy may be surprised not only at these words but at the following, taken from an address given in December, 1908 : " Turkey has given the world the admirable example of a profound revolution suddenly and peacefully accomplished, and has shown the purifying effects of liberty. From the beginning we greeted with sympathy the new régime inaugurated there among so many hopes ; we have, more than others, interest in supporting it, and in the formation of a prosperous and strong Turkey." Among other interesting matters discussed is that of Slavery in Africa and the Rebellion of the Mullah in Somaliland. The index is very faulty, and utterly inadequate for so large a mass of material. S. M. Z.

Modern Religious Movements in India. By J. N. FARQUHAR, M.A. The Macmillan Company, New York. 8vo ; pp. 468. 1915. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

This book is one of the series of " The Hartford-Lamson Lectures on the Religions of the World." The lectures were delivered in Hartford, Conn., in October, 1913 ; but " the eight lectures delivered in Hartford contained far less material than the book does."

The sections, which will be of special interest to readers of THE MOSLEM WORLD, are those which deal with *Muḥammadan Reform*, *The Aḥmadiyas of Qadian*, *The Nazarene New Church*, and *The Muhammadans*.

The presentation of these subjects is concise yet sufficiently full to give a clear and most interesting account of the present reform movements among Muḥammadans in India.

Of the Anglo-Muḥammadan College at Aligarh, the author says : " It has proved a source of enlightenment and progressive thought. But, it must be confessed, the religious influence of the College does not seem to be at all prominent or persuasive " (p. 95). Apparently, the future of Islam in India is at present rather in the hands of the *Anjuman-i-Ḥimayet-i-Islam* (The Society for the Defence of Islam), with its Islamic College at Lahore, and of similar defensive societies and associations.

The impression with which the reader who is specially interested in Muḥammadanism closes the book may be expressed in Mr. Farquhar's own words, when he says : " Many observers agree in saying that most educated Muslims are turning away from the rationalism of Sir Syed Aḥmad Khan to orthodoxy " (p. 347).

W. R. W. GARDNER.

Childhood in the Moslem World. By SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, D.D., F.R.G.S. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 1915. 2.00 net.

This is not a book for children, nor is it a book which discusses child-psychology or makes any large contribution to our knowledge of the way in which a Moslem boy or girl looks out on life. Such a book—and how we should welcome it !—must wait to be written by an educationalist who lives year by year in contact with his pupils, out of the classroom as well as within it, or by some woman in close touch with mothers and children, who has made a special study of child development on modern, scientific lines. Dr. Zwemer has given us rather a study of the environment of childhood than of childhood itself. His book has many sources ; but whether the pages are occupied with extracts from replies to a questionnaire sent to missionary correspondents in connection with the World Sunday School Convention held at Zurich in 1913, or with quotations from numerous books, some old, some new, some learned, some popular, all the matter is set in a background of the extraordinarily wide knowledge of Islam which qualifies the author for his task, and the somewhat heterogeneous collection of material is fired into a unity by the glow of his conviction concerning the need of the Moslem world.

The book with its terse and effective style, its massing of well-selected facts and its restrained emotion, is sure of a wide circle of readers. In its pages Dr. Zwemer demonstrates once more the moral weakness of Islam : " No religion pays such early attention to the religious training of the child or so little attention to its moral education." The stimulating force of the whole volume is bound to tell in the Church. In the illustrations Dr. Zwemer has scored a brilliant success. They have shared to the full in the conscientious labour expended upon the text. Pictures of Moslem childhood—all of them interesting and some of them beautiful—have been gathered from every land, and reinforce in a striking manner the plea for the children of the Moslem world. G. A. GOLLOCK.

The Dutch East : Sketches and Pictures. By J. MACMILLAN BROWN. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Company, London. 1914. pp. 221.

This book, which consists partly of sketches which appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and certain New Zealand papers, covers much the same ground as Cabaton's more serious study, " Java, Sumatra and the other Islands of the Dutch East Indies," recently issued in its second edition. The sketches are, however, illustrated by most beautiful illustrations, and to some their descriptions of the less known islands of the Archipelago will be welcome. It is an interesting addition to the rapidly increasing library in English dealing with this part of the world. E. I. M. B.

The Development of Arabic Numerals in Europe. By G. F. HILL. The Clarendon Press, Oxford. 125 pp. 1915. 7*s*. 6*d*.

This book is the development of a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries of London, and gives on the basis of one thousand classified examples the development of the Arabic numerals which are first found in MSS. of the tenth century, but cannot be said to have been well-known until the beginning of the thirteenth. A monograph of interest only to specialists. Z.

The Beauties of Islam. By Mohammed Sarfraz Husan Qyāri. M. Husayn, The Noor Library, Calcutta. pp. 87. Eight annas.

A book of special interest in that it is the first of a series of English publications to be published for Indian readers, in English, by Moslem propagandists. In the foreword, the publishers say: "Our objects in bringing out the Islamic series are: (1) to foster amongst us a taste for Islamic literature in its highest form; (2) to publish a series of books enunciating the true teachings of master-minds of the East; (3) to diffuse and inculcate the idea of universal brotherhood, amity and concord."

The author of the book under review is an Indian Moslem, who comes of a well-known family of Delhi Qāris, and is an initiated member of the Chistiyyah Nidhamiyyah Fraternity. He appears to have travelled widely. His book gives evidence that he writes to reach the Anglicised reader, and his view of Islam, therefore, is not that of the average Moslem.

He strives to show that "the highest aim, the goal of Islam, is the realisation of Perfect Oneness." His ideas and language are mystical, and like so much in Moslem mysticism, tend to a pantheistic annihilation of human personality. There are many means to aid men to realise Oneness. There are the "Personalities" of "Adam, Noah, Sri Krishna and Zarathustra, also Abraham, Moses, Buddha, Jesus and Mohammed—one unbroken chain of divine personages, the representatives of God on earth." There are also the Fraternities and their Sheikhs and the literature of the Saints of Islam. All are given to help men to attain unto the Oneness. "The Five Pillars of the Faith" also help.

The writer does not leave us in doubt as to his pantheistic ideas of Oneness, Majnūn, the lover of Leila is compared with Mansūr, and is shown to have reached a higher stage of realisation. He had passed through three stages, when day and night he cried: (1) I love Leila, (2) I am Leila, (3) Leila, Leila, after which he became silent and expired. Mansūr, on the other hand, did not get higher than the second stage. He was always saying, "I am the Truth, I am God," and as a result was crucified for blasphemy. In Majnūn's case "the I-ness was shaken off and had reached the goal," while Mansūr failed.

There are chapters on "The Mysteries of Life," "Death and After," "The Religion of Civilisation," and "Views of non-Moslems on Islam," in which the usual quotations, favourable to Islam, are quoted from the writings of Gibbon, Carlyle, Arnold, and others.

In an appendix the author makes some very exaggerated statements in his attempt to set forth "The Beauties of Islam," in regard to the position of woman. He says, "It is the raising of the status of woman that Islam claims as among its chief merits. Islam is the only religion which has elevated the position of woman to the highest degree she is physically, mentally and spiritually capable of" . . . "Traffic in human beings was strictly forbidden, and the man who dealt in slaves was pronounced to be the outcast of humanity—the accursed of God . . . In a word, human chattle-hood (*sic*) is unknown in Islam."

J. Takle.

SURVEY OF RECENT PERIODICALS

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I. GENERAL.

Die Lebenskräfte im Islam und Christentum (i.) (ii.). Julius Richter. *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift.* JUNE, JULY, 1915. A summary and review of " Vital Forces of Christianity and Islam," the essays reprinted from the International Review of Missions.

Kann man von Lebenskräften im Islam sprechen ? Rev. S. M. Zwemer, D.D. *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift.* AUGUST, 1915. Written before the war to show that it is impossible to speak of vital forces in Islam, whether morally, politically or spiritually.

The Cairo Study Centre Second Annual Report. *Blessed be Egypt.* JULY, 1915.

Strategic Points. Miss L. L. Trotter. *Blessed be Egypt.* JULY, 1915. An account of the literature department for women and children under the Nile Mission Press Committee, including a list of leaflets in circulation and in preparation.

II. SOURCES OF ISLAM IN ARABIA.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM UP TILL RECENT TIMES.

An Assessment of Italian Benefices held by the Cardinals for the Turkish War of 1571. A. Edith Hewett. *English Historical Review.* JULY, 1915. A document of 1571, now preserved in the Ricci archives at Montepulciano, which gives the taxation of the Cardinals in that year, called a Donation, to pay for arming the pontifical galleys of Pius V., together with the translation of correspondence relating thereto.

Akbar, the Great Mogul : his life, character and opinions ; (1542-1605). Vincent A. Smith. *Asiatic Review.* JULY, 1915. A paper read before the East India Association on May 10th, 1915, with the ensuing discussion. Deals especially with Akbar's wars, annexations and fiscal policy ; considerable note is taken of his religious attitude and its relations with Xavier, but the conclusion is that he " was an inveterate rationalist incapable of accepting any form of religion claiming to be a revelation." A bibliography is added to the paper and an interesting letter and note by Mr. A. Yusuf Ali is appended to the discussion, on (1) whether Akbar's policy of toleration and conciliation was peculiar to himself in India, and (2) whether Akbar in his religious views formally relinquished the fold of Islam.

The Caliphate: a historical and juridical sketch. Rt. Hon. Ameer Ali. *Contemporary Review.* JUNE, 1915. Supports the view that "it would be far more conducive to the well-being of the great communities in whose pacific development England, France and Russia are interested, to preserve intact the prestige and influence of this sacred institution than to allow it to be thrown into the melting pot of intestinal discord and schismatic strife."

The Caliphate. Stanley Lane-Poole. *Quarterly Review.* JULY, 1915. A study in the light of history of the devolution of the Caliphate. "The various principles of election, nomination and arbitration all gave way to the simple law of the strong arm, except where the schismatic, but effective doctrine of Divine Right prevailed." Agrees with the Rt. Hon. Ameer Ali in the *Contemporary Review* for June that "the slightest interference is most earnestly to be deprecated" in any transference of the dignity.

Das Khalifat. Friedrich Würz. *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin.* JUNE, 1915. A popular study of the history of the Caliphate based on various sources, German, French and English.

IV. KORAN, TRADITIONS, THEOLOGY, etc.

The Psychology of the Persian Philosophers: 1. Omar Khayyám. A. N. J. Whymant, Litt.D. *Islamic Review,* Woking. JULY, 1915. A study to prove Omar was a Sufi philosopher. "Omar treated according to the rigid Western fashion from Fitzgerald's translation is very different from the same man in the true aspect of his Sufiism."

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE OF ISLAM.

Islam in Baluchistan. Rev. A. D. Dixey. *Church Missionary Review.* AUGUST, 1915. An account of Islam in Kalát State and the independent tribal area of Baluchistan proper: the early Arab invasion, the rise and decline of the Moghul power, and present conditions. Interesting details as to beliefs and customs are given, more especially in connection with birth, marriage and death.

Across Asia Minor on Foot (V.). W. J. C. *Blackwood's Magazine.* JUNE, 1915. Conclusion of the account in February-May.

The Mosque of Sultan Selim II. of Adrianople. C. J. Ryan. *Hindustan Review.* MAY-JUNE, 1915. A brief general description.

Taking the Holy Carpet to Mecca. S. M. Zwemer, D.D. *The Continent.* APRIL 15th, 1915. An account of the Mahmal procession at Cairo with a description of the Mahmal and Kiswa.

The Position of Women in Persia. Mary Markovitch. *Hindustan Review.* MAY-JUNE, 1915. A general sketch of the position of women of different classes and some reference to the new movement for woman's education and the abolishing of the veil. The Persian woman's surroundings "have nearly everywhere been kept pure from any foreign admixture. Yet to secure the education of their daughters the Persians will have to apply to

Europe. If the European teachers are real educators, all will go well. But their task will require any amount of tact, moderation, good sense, intelligence, and especially insight. The whole soul has to be awakened in them."

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

A "Jihad" Appeal to Moslems: the translation of a recent Call distributed to the millions of Islam. *Missionary Review of the World.* JULY, 1915.

The "Jihad" Rampant in Persia. Rev. Robt. M. Labaree. *Missionary Review of the World.* JULY, 1915. A description of the recent massacre of Christians in Salmas and other places in Northern Persia at the hands of the Turks and Kurds.

Stimmungen und Strömungen im ägyptischen Islam (ii.). Missionar Enderlin. *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift.* JUNE, 1915. (Supplement). A continuation of the account begun in May, 1915.

The Dardanelles. Col. F. N. Maude. *Contemporary Review.* JUNE, 1915. A defence of the essay to force the Straits unsupported by adequate landing parties, in view of the political circumstances of the hour and the special conditions of the Gallipoli Peninsula.

The Dardanelles. Walter Leaf. *Quarterly Review.* JULY, 1915. A historical account of the economic, political and strategic importance of the Straits from the earliest times. "In a transverse direction they have been only secondary. No great route of trade has ever crossed them. . . . Nor have the Straits ever been taken as a military line of defence or served as a political frontier. The command of one of the main arteries of the world has at all times been too valuable for division. . . . No settlement which ignores this cardinal fact can have any chance of permanence."

The Fight for the Dardanelles. J. Ellis Barker. *United Empire,* London. AUGUST, 1915. A sketch of the economic prospects involved in the struggle for the Dardanelles.

VII. HISTORY OF MOHAMMEDAN MISSIONS.

The Sexcentenary of the Martyrdom of Raymond Lull. Rev. H. U. Weitbrecht, D.D. *International Review of Missions.* JULY, 1915.

Raymond Lull. Rev. W. T. A. Barber, D.D. *The East and the West.* JULY, 1915.

Raymond Lull: the Message of His Life. The Rev. S. M. Zwemer, D.D. *Church Missionary Review.* JUNE, 1915.

Raymond Lull's Martyrdom: six hundredth anniversary. Rev. S. M. Zwemer, D.D. *The Trust* (Women's missionary magazine of the U. F. Church of Scotland), Edinburgh. AUGUST, 1915.

The Arabian Mission: Report for 1914. *Neglected Arabia.* APRIL, 1915. A brief survey of the history of the Mission since its foundation in 1889, together with the Minute passed at the 25th Annual Meeting held in Muskat, November, 1914, concerning an advance policy.

Red Cross and Red Crescent Work in Arabia. Arthur K. Bennett, M.D. *Neglected Arabia.* APRIL, 1915. Medical war service at Busrah.

Bahrein since the War. Rev. Jas. E. Moerdyk. *Neglected Arabia.* APRIL, 1915. A short study of economic conditions.

Der Schwedische Missionsbund in Ost-Turkestan (i.), (ii.). Pastor E. Berlin. *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin.* JUNE, AUGUST, 1915. The history of the mission from 1887 to the present time.

Seeing is Believing : a Scene in Kashmir. Rev. C. E. Tyndale-Biscoe. *The East and the West.* JULY, 1915. An account of visits to the schools under the author's care as conducive to a transformed attitude towards missions on the part of civilians and military men. He would urge friends at home to persuade Territorials in India to ask to be shown missions at work, so that after the war there may be more enlightened opinion on the subject in England.

Confirmation Candidates in Persia. Rt. Rev. Bishop Stileman. *Church Missionary Review,* AUGUST, 1915. An account of some Jewish and Mohammedan converts in Persia.

Mohammedanism in Persia. Rev. Napier Malcolm. *India's Women and China's Daughters.* JUNE, 1915. A general sketch.

Jerusalem : August to December, 1914 (ii.). Rev. H. Sykes. *Church Missionary Review.* JUNE, 1915. A general description continued from May, 1915.

Village Life in Palestine. Miss Julia George. *The Trust,* Edinburgh. AUGUST, 1915.

Pioneers of C.M.S. Medical Missions. II. Africa and the Near East. Chas. F. Harford, M.D. *Church Missionary Review.* JULY, 1915.

VIII. THEOLOGICAL AND APOLOGETICAL.

Is Bahaism Anti-Christian ? Rev. S. G. Wilson, D.D. *The Bible Magazine.* AUGUST, 1915.

THE MOSLEM WORLD

A QUARTERLY REVIEW

OF CURRENT EVENTS, LITERATURE, AND THOUGHT
AMONG MOHAMMEDANS AND THE PROGRESS
OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN
MOSLEM LANDS.

EDITOR:

REV. S. M. ZWEMER, D.D., F.R.G.S.

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